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The Southern Press.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

WHY THE JURY CLAUSE WAS EXCLUDED.

LETTER FROM SENATOR MASON.

From The Washington Union, June 5.

We publish below an exceedingly interesting and important letter from Senator Mason, of Virginia, in regard to the history of the Fugitive Slave law. It was written in consequence of an article which lately appeared in our columns, copied from the Detroit *Free Press*, in which the part taken by Senator Mason upon the passage of that law was not stated as fully as the real history of the transaction rendered necessary for the correct understanding of his position.

The letter is not only valuable on account of its setting right an important matter of history, but because it furnishes the strongest proof that the late proposition to amend the Fugitive Slave law would revive anew the slavery agitation. The proposed amendment originated with a Know-Nothing Whig organ in the South-West; but, as far as we have observed, it has met with no countenance from any democratic journal.

It was suggested as a part of a new compromise on the slavery question, with a view of trying to relieve Know-Nothingism from its complicity with Abolitionism, and in all probability it may be the subject of discussion in the grand national council of Know-Nothings which assembles in Philadelphia to-day.

The Democratic party has no occasion to entertain any new propositions for compromise on the subject of slavery. It claims to have brought the Federal Government back to the only compromises on this subject which can be safely entertained—*the compromises of the Constitution.* Its position is unalterably taken upon the great principle of Congressional non-intervention, and upon the doctrine as to the Fugitive Slave law—that, "being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, it cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency."

Senator Mason shows that if the amendment now suggested had been inserted in the bill, it would have been less efficient, if not practically invalid, and on that account would not have received his vote, and probably those of other Southern Senators. Our true policy, then, is to abide faithfully by our present platform, resisting with earnestness "all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made." We commend Senator Mason's letter to the careful attention of our readers.

To the Editor of the Union:

In the semi-weekly *Union*, of the 29th May ult., in an editorial entitled "Amendment to the Fugitive Slave Law," an article is quoted from the Detroit *Free Press*, the object of which is to show that, when that law was under consideration in the Senate, in 1850, an amendment, originally proposed by General Cass, and intended to secure to the fugitive a *jury* trial *in the State from which he fled* (should he, on rendition there, assert a right to freedom), had been rejected by the Senate; and the remarks of the editor, and some subsequent remarks of General Cass, made in the Senate, in 1852 (cited by the editor), are intended to show that, had this amendment been adopted, the law, whilst equally beneficial to the South, would have been far less objectionable to the North; leaving the pregnant inference that Southern Senators were unreasonable and exacting in their opposition to this amendment.

I have no desire to provoke controversy in this matter; but the strong language used by the editor of the *Free Press*, introducing the remarks of General Cass in the Senate, in 1852, and his failure to give the full reply contained in the same debate, make it right and due, as well to 'history' as to the subject, that some notice should be taken of it.

The Detroit *Free Press* says:

"The history of this matter was incidentally discussed in the Senate, August 26th, 1852, when General Cass remarked, that he had often been reproached with not having voted in favour of the Fugitive Slave law; and he said that his failure to vote for it did not arise from any objection to the most efficient provision for the rendition of slaves, but the fact that this just and proper provision, for this jury trial, was struck from the bill. He said:

"'When the committee of thirteen on the compromise measures began their labours, as gentlemen here know, there was a proposition made for a stringent Fugitive Slave law. One was reported by that committee which seemed to be acceptable to a great majority of the people, and it contained the main features of the law as it now is, with a provision that if, when a fugitive was taken, he should assert he was not a slave, the commissioner, after he made his decision in favour of the master, should repeat the question to the fugitive: Do you persist in denying that you are a slave? and if he said he was not a slave, the provision was that the master or his agent should give bond in $1,000, without security, that, within a given period after return, that slave should be entitled to a trial by jury, in the County from which he had escaped. Now, I could never conceive, and mortal man never could explain to me, why that should not have been put into the bill.

"'Mr. Clemens—It was the law already in nearly if not all the Southern States.

"'Mr. Cass—Then, why, in the name of all that is just and proper, was it not put into the bill? It was said by Southern gentlemen that there was such a provision in their State laws. Then, why not put it into the bill? Of course, we could not interfere with State laws. We only propose to require them to give the fugitive the benefit of the State laws. That was the sole and simple provision. Mr. President, you know it, and every gentleman in the Senate knows it, if that provision had been inserted in the bill as it finally passed, it would have taken away a great many objections to the law. Mr. Clay was in favour of it, and a number of Southern gentlemen in committee were in favour of it. Gen. Foote and others were for it.

"'I said, in the outset, if you put that provision in, I will agree to do almost anything else you may put in the bill; but if you do not I will not vote for it. That is what I said in the beginning, in the middle and in the end, and what I say now. I would not yield the point. That was the whole fact about it. When we were about to give the South as stringent a law as the Constitution demanded, why should they suffer such a mere appearance as that, if you may so call it, to be sacrificed unnecessarily, particularly when it was known that if that provision had been inserted, it would have removed a great deal of difficulty in the Northern mind, to which the bill, as it passed, has given rise? That was the state of the case.

"'I believe there is hardly a feature in the bill for which individually I did not vote from beginning to end. My votes are recorded on the yeas and nays. But I did not vote for the bill on its final passage, for the simple reason that I would not yield that point.'"

The foregoing remarks of General Cass will be found in the "Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, 1st session 32d Congress," pages 1124, 1125. On the same page (1125) will be found the reply not given by the Detroit *Free Press*. (The debate had arisen on a proposition offered by Mr. Sumner, of Massachusetts, for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law.)

Mr. Mason said:

"Mr. President, I do not mean at all to enter into a discussion as to the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. I intend only to advert to what fell from the Senator from Michigan, and the Senator from Alabama, lest, by possibility, hereafter there might be some doubt or misconstruction about it. The Senator from Michigan has declared that he refused to vote for the Fugitive Slave law, because it did not contain a provision which had been reported by the committee of thirteen, providing that the claimant of a fugitive from labour should be required to give bond that he would allow the fugitive to have a jury trial in the State to which he was returned.

"Mr. Cass—A bond without security.

"Mr. Mason—Yes, sir, a bond without security. Now, the history of that matter was this: It was an amendment offered in the committee of thirteen by a Senator from Massachusetts, not now a member of this body [Mr. Webster]. That is my impression.

"Mr. Cass—The gentleman is mistaken. My colleague wrote it out for me.

"Mr. Mangum—I think the Senator from Michigan presented it.

"Mr. Mason—That may be so. I was not present in the committee when it was offered, but I was under the impression that it had been offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Webster]; but that is immaterial. It was reported by that committee. The Senator from Alabama is perfectly right, so far as he has gone. It was objected, on the part of Southern men, that it was unnecessary to make that provision in the law, because in all the Southern States the fugitive could have that right without this provision being in the law; but the true objection—certainly that which governed me—was this:

"The Constitution says that the fugitive 'shall be delivered up on claim'; that he shall be delivered up without any condition whatever; and I believed that if the law required the master to give a bond without security, it was yielding to the jurisdiction of Congress that which would hereafter prove fatal, because, if Congress had a right to exact that bond, it might be argued that it had an equal right to exact a bond with security. It was that reason which operated with me in resisting that amendment.

"Mr. Clemens—I spoke only of the objections made here in the Senate chamber. There is no man who knows better than does the Senator from Virginia, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Downs], or myself, the objections made by Southern men outside. I did not allude to them. I only spoke of those made in the Senate. Our objections in the Senate were that there was already such a provision.

Mr. Mason—I think the debate will show that I urged the objection of which I spoke.

"Mr. Clemens—I think not in the Senate, but it was urged outside."

And now, to show that this same objection was made by the, and elaborately debated in 1850, in the *Senate*, when the amendment in question was under consideration in the Senate, I refer to the "Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*," 1st session, 31st Congress, vol. 22, part 2, page 1610.

In the debate on this bill, August 22, as there reported, Mr. Mason said:

"But the other amendment reported by the committee of thirteen, which the Senator from Kentucky also adopts, is of a character which, if it should become part of this proposed law for the recovery of fugitive slaves, valuable as such a law is to the people I represent, indispensable as it is to enable them to realize the benefits to which they are entitled by the Constitution of the United States, would render it my duty to vote against that law. I refer to the amendment which imposes upon the claimant the necessity of giving a bond conditioned that after he has taken the fugitive back he will allow him time to present an application to the first Court within his own State, in order that the question of freedom or slavery may be tried. It requires that bond as a condition of the delivery of the fugitive.

"Sir, I repeat, if that be made a feature of this bill, I must vote against it, because I conceive that this would be a concession on the part of the slaveholding States of an authority in Congress, over this subject, nowhere vested in the Constitution, and which would operate in contravention of the duty imposed on Congress by the Constitution, and be trenching on the rights of the claimants of fugitives, as secured to them by that instrument. What is the language of the Constitution? It says that the fugitive shall be delivered up on claim of the party entitled to his service. And what is this proposition? That he shall be delivered up on the claim of the party entitled to his services, *on condition* that the said party shall enter into an obligation which the Constitution nowhere imposes upon him. It is adding by a law a condition to this right which the Constitution of the United States did not contemplate, and, as I conceive, in gross derogation of the rights of the claiming party.

"If the law to be passed by Congress can rightfully require the claimant to give these bonds, it can with *equal right* require him to give *security*; for if Congress can say that the bond must be given, it carries with it the right to make that bond effective by exacting security. What, then, will be the condition of those men who go into other States claiming their fugitives? How will they give this bond and security? They could not give it in nine cases out of ten in the States into which the fugitives had escaped, and to require it of them would be utterly to defeat all attempts to reclaim these fugitives. But there is another objection. It is imposing a restraint on the rights belonging to the owner. The Constitution of the United States recognising the property of the owner in his slave wherever he is found, the same property is to be enjoyed, in the same unqualified manner, wherever found, that the owner enjoys it when at home; and if you can assume a right to require of him, before he can come into the enjoyment of that property, that he shall give a bond to obey any requisition, I care not what, why you restrain, qualify and impair his right of property to that extent."

And, again (page 1613), Mr. Mason said:

"I will trespass on the time of the Senate no further than to say that, if the right can be made out to require a bond, it must be as a condition of the delivery. Now, I put it to the Senator to show where, in the Constitution, when you are required to deliver up the fugitive upon the claim of the party to whom service is due, you can interpose anything to that claim. But what is that claim? It is that the fugitive was held to service. That is all the Constitution requires should be proved, nothing more. You are required to show that fact out of which the claim arises in order to allow of his being carried back. And if the proof is confined to that, I ask upon what authority the Senator from Kentucky supposes they may deliver upon condition? If they can deliver upon one condition, they may on any condition, and they may restrain the plenary right of the property which is alleged to exist.

"I have said, and I repeat, in no offensive sense at all, but as a matter of duty to my constituents, that I insist on the right, as I understand it, which belongs to them, to recover their fugitive servants. I shall, therefore, vote against any proposition which acknowledges power in Congress to authorize this right to be tried in any of the free States, and I shall resist it. I say, again, the Constitution does not warrant that exercise of power on the part of Congress; and if it did, it would effectually defeat any law which might be passed on the subject."

The foregoing extracts from the debate will fully show the whole ground on which this amendment was resisted; and it is cheerfully left to the country to decide whether, had the amendment been adopted, the concession would not have rendered the clause in the Constitution providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves valueless to the South.

It may be remarked, further, that this amendment, though reported from the committe of thirteen, was never offered in the Senate as a substantive proposition.

The only vote taken upon it was as part of a substitute for the whole bill which had been offered by Mr. Underwood, of Kentucky, and then Gen. Cass voted against it.

[Apendix to *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, vol. 22, part 2d, page 1625.]

Respectfully, yours, J. M. Mason.

Selma, Frederick County, Va., June 1, 1855.

MASSACHUSETTS PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL.

HOW IT TAKES IN LOUISIANA—RETALIATION RECOMMENDED.

Time-honoured Massachusetts has become the pestilent hot-bed of faction, bigotry and fraternal discord. The soil consecrated by the first blood of the revolution is yielding a late harvest of hydra-headed monsters, who are traitorously leagued together to scatter the dragon-seeds of revolution and ruin over its fair surface. The glorious old State, with its revolutionary memories clustering around it, the cradle where liberty was rocked, where it raised its first voice, and where its growth was nurtured and sustained, has, in the maturity of its years and strength, rashly stretched out its sacrilegious arms to pull down the pillars of the noble edifice which it was so instrumental in erecting.

Are there none of "the solid men of Boston" left to rebuke and put to flight this fell spirit of folly, madness and blind fanaticism? Where are the Everetts, the Choates, the Winthrops, and the host of patriotic Massachusetts men, whose maxim always has been "One Constitution, one Union, one destiny," that they are not lifting up their voices, deprecating, and striving, and fighting against this outrageous violation of the Constitution? How the sacred shade of the "great expounder" would frown indignantly upon this cursed act of desecration of an instrument which he so much loved and revered, and held so sacred!

May there not be some who have taken part in this infamous procedure who yet remember the malediction he hurled, in burning words, upon the fomentors of discord and strife, when, at the foot of Bunker Hill Monument, he exclaimed, "Woe betide the man who can stand here with the fires of local resentments burning, for the purpose of fomenting local jealousies, and the strifes of local interests festering and rankling in his heart; Union established in justice, in patriotism, and the most plain and obvious common interest; Union founded on the same love of liberty, cemented by bloodshed in the same common cause; Union has been the source of all our glory and greatness thus far, and is the ground of all our highest hopes."

It is this Union which the parricidal miscreants of the Massachusetts Legislature are endeavouring to weaken and destroy.

The question that presents itself to every reflecting mind is, What is the upshot of this disorganizing movement? Will the South passively and quietly submit to this desperate assault upon the Constitution, the great bulwark of our liberties, without even making a show of resistance? The State of Massachusetts is vulnerable in one point; however case-hardened she may be against all appeals to reason, magnanimity or patriotism, there is the exposed part, like the heel of Achilles, where she is assailable. We must attack her here. As she is now governed, it is the only sensitive spot in which she can be made to feel. We have a large and profitable trade with Boston, profitable to her, but which can be easily diverted to some other point without any prejudice to us.

If Massachusetts persists in this system of gross and absurd injustice, depriving us of rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution, let us retaliate upon her and make her feel that we can give hard knocks as well as take them. Non-intercourse and reprisals may be established without committing any breach of the peace, or destroying amicable relations; it is a quiet and easy way of obtaining satisfaction and redress, and, our word for it, let but the pocket-nerve of our Yankee friends be rudely touched, and it will vibrate with such rapidity and force that conviction will immediately follow remorse, and repentance wait upon both. The odious bill will be repealed on the first opportunity.—*N. O. Bulletin, May* 28.

THE ABOLITIONISTS' SATURNALIA.

The second week of May in New York is called "Anniversary Week," and it is devoted to the annual meetings of a large number of the religious associations of that part of the country—the Bible Societies, the Tract Societies, the Missionary Societies, the Church [illegible], Temperance, Anti-Hanging, Prison Discipline, and though last, not least in number or in clamour, Abolition Societies. All the halls and most of the churches, together with a few of the theatres, are occupied by these conventicles, and for a week the streets, at certain hours of the day, literally swarm with black-coated, white-cravated promenaders, mostly from other parts of the country; and interspersed, by no means few nor far between, among the white brothers and sisters are scores of their coloured consociates, giving the purlieus of the Tabernacle and places of that kind the agreeably variegated appearance of a large moving chequer board.

There is a good deal of warm elocution among the purely religious Societies in the course of "Anniversary Week" in New York, and a good deal of what Hudibras describes as

"Beating the drum ecclesiastic
With the fist, instead of a stick."

But the Abolitionists beat the whole crowd in vociferation and in continuity. The white folks have their several meetings, and have done with it; but the coloured brethren are more exacting. They must have a relay of imported speakers, and must have a chance to speak themselves. And not only the brethren; there is no Salic law on the platform of the Tabernacle or the stage of the Metropolitan Theatre in "Anniversary Week." Sister Abby Folsom has as good a right to hold forth as Brother Theodore Parker, and Lucy Stone has had as loud a call as Parson May. Lucretia Mott may alternate with Wendell Phillips in enlightening the world as to its bounden duty to overturn the pulpit and trample upon the Constitution. It is Liberty Hall—and everybody, black or white, male or female, simple or sensible, sane or insane, has a perfect right to speak and to be heard.

At last dates from New York, this kind of thing was in full blast. "If," said the *Times* of the 8th, "lectures and discussions could crack the Union, the Union would certainly be resolved into its elements this week. But the weather is hot and men will not get excited, however excitable the orators that attempt to stir them up. To-day the Abolition Carnival commences, and it closes possibly with the week. To-night, at the Metropolitan Theatre, opportunity is afforded to hear Senator Wilson, the Know-Nothing Free Soiler, commit himself." The next night, on the same boards, Charles Sumner, United States Senator from Massachusetts, was to hold forth. And there were other meetings of Anti-Slavery Societies—free discussions, where lions roar and lionesses lift up their voices as usual on such occasions.

There was a time when such were the outrageous sentiments uttered at these meetings, the public gorge rose at it, and the result was the extermination of those traitorous and blasphemous meetings from the city of New York. But the same kind of thing having, in the progress of events, been tolerated in the pulpits, the legislative halls, and literary associations of that part of the country, the public sense got used to it, and now it excites no stronger or more violent feeling there among the sensible portion of the community than simple contempt and disgust. It is the same story over and over again. "There is no help but over the ruins of the Christian pulpit and the American Constitution," is still the burden of the tirade, and this, with a denunciation of all and particularly the greatest and best men of the nation, living and dead, forms the stock-in-trade of your Abolitionist orator during "Anniversary Week."—*N. O. Picayune.*

THE STANDARD.

SPEECHES
AT THE
NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

SPEECH OF C. C. BURLEIGH.

It is impossible for me to say, at this late hour, what it was in my mind to say; but bear with me while I offer a few words.

In the first place, in regard to the last point which my friend, Mr. Pierpont, alluded to. We are told that, in deference to the law, and in deference to the personal feelings of individuals in the community, his book was revised, and the objectionable pieces expurgated. So far as the law is concerned, it may not be amiss to remark that, if the pieces were good ones, then the law for their expurgation, being a bad law, was, on our friend's theory, no law, and therefore that was a case for him to exemplify his liberty by setting his foot upon that law (cheers). In regard to the matter of political feeling, I confess that, keen as my eyes may have been to detect any thing of the kind, I have been unable to find any political bearing in the pieces which have been omitted. What is there of a political bearing in those beautiful lines of Cowper, addressing themselves to the heart—

"I would not have a slave to till my ground," &c.?

What of a political bearing is there in that noble speech of Webster, calling upon the ministers of justice and religion to testify to the wrongfulness of all participation, on New England soil, in the illegal traffic in slaves—the *foreign* slave trade? And the same may be said of the piece by Montgomery. There is no political bearing in them. On the contrary, there is not a sentiment which the members of all political parties do not profess to hold; and I believe that, if there were no Union between the States of the South and those of the North, between slavery and that which is mis-named freedom here, there would have been no objection from any party to the publication of such sentiments as are contained in these pieces, or to the reading of them in any part of the Commonwealth. I believe that if the Slave Power had not exercised, and did not now exercise, an undue control over the public sentiment of the North, my friend Pierpont would never have suspected that any of these pieces could offend the most fastidious soul throughout the whole Commonwealth.

Now, whether he shares, in this respect, the opinions of the community, is not the question. But here is the proof of the proposition which our friend May was setting forth in your hearing, that this Union with slavery has emasculated the literature of the country—no matter whether it has taken our friend Pierpont's hand to do it, or somebody's else. It has done the foul deed. That kind of literature has undergone a marked change since I went to school. I used to read pieces that contained, not political allusions, but stirring appeals to the heart of humanity and the sense of right, in which we were called upon to sympathize even in an insurrection of the slaves. Lines like these we were accustomed to read in my school days. When

"Stung by despair, he sought the plain,
To heaven upraised his starting eye,
Claimed freedom from the crushing chain,
Or mid the battle's rage to die.
Did not the soul, to heaven allied,
Feel the full heart as greatly swell
As when the Roman Cato died,
Or when the Grecian victim fell?

"If later deeds quick raptures raise,
The boon Batavia's patriots won,
Paoli's time-enduring praise,
Or the far greater Washington;
If these command thy generous zeal,
Who scorned a tyrant's mad control,
For bleeding Gambia learn to feel,
Whose chieftain claimed a kindred soul.

"O! mourn the lost, disastrous hour,
Lift the red eye of speechless grief,
While numbers throng the sultry shore,
And tear from hope the captive chief.
Let sorrow bathe each blushing cheek,
Bend piteous o'er the tortured slave,
Whose wrongs compassion cannot speak,
Whose only refuge is the grave."

Such were the sentiments we used to read in school books. Why are they omitted now? Because slavery has created such a sensitive religious and political feeling that the community cannot bear them. Why, the charge is sustained, and more than sustained, by the evidence afforded you in the explanation offered here.

A word upon another point. Our friend said, in the course of his argument, that the Constitution, in his opinion, is anti-slavery, and that the slaveholders should not be permitted to enjoy the privileges they claim under it—although he admits that the framers of the Constitution intended they should have them. The ground is not that we have misapprehended the *intent* of the language of the instrument, but, in the very face of his own admission of that intent, he says that, on the ground that it was a sinful and immoral intent, we will not permit them to enjoy the privileges bargained for, with a consideration attached. I wish to say, in regard to that matter, that I admit that an immoral contract is not binding; but then, I hold that when I have bargained to do certain things, for a consideration, if I repudiate the obligation, I must spurn the consideration also. When the South has said, "If you will grant me certain privileges—the continuance of the foreign slave trade for twenty years—the right to recapture fugitive slaves—a representation based on the number of slaves—then I will allow you to help elect Congressmen and Presidents, and take part in the government," I say, if the South accepts the proposition, and I have accepted it, I hold that I am bound when I arrive at the conviction that the compact is worth all along the border? In the course of help elect Presidents and Congressmen, and enact laws and administer them, with the people of the South. I throw off the benefits of the contract when I throw off the obligation.

[Mr. Burleigh here gave way for a motion to adjourn. At the opening of the evening meeting, he again took the platform, and, after recapitulating the points made in the afternoon, proceeded as follows:]

The argument is, that there is no occasion for us to dissolve the Union with the slaveholders, because we have only to stand upon the Constitutional ground that slavery is illegal, because immoral; we have only to compel the slaveholders to come up to that ground—that is to say, they must submit to the execution of the Constitution as an anti-slavery instrument—and leave to them to decide whether they will dissolve the Union or not. Let the dissolution of the Union, if it is to come at all, come from them, while we have all the advantages of wielding the government on the side of freedom! My answer is, that those who take this ground reveal the fact that they are just as much Disunionists as we are; that they are just as certainly on the ground of "No Union with Slaveholders" as we. They themselves testify, when they talk about administering the government as an anti-slavery government, and leaving the South to withdraw from the Union if she is not satisfied to stay in a Union of that character, that they are not in the Union, and never have been, if their interpretation of the Constitution is correct. Here the North has written out its anti-slavery Constitution—supposing the North understood it so, which I believe our friends concede it did not. Our friend Pierpont, and Gerrit Smith, and Goodell, and Spooner, and others, have presented their Constitution for ratification, and Massachusetts has ratified it, we will suppose; Connecticut, Vermont, Maine, New England, all the North, has ratified it; but the slaveholders have never ratified it. It makes no difference if it is written in the same words, for the words are merely the garment in which the thought is clothed; but the thought, the intent which is clothed in that garment, was never endorsed by the people of the South; for the people of the South never imagined that they were ratifying a Constitution, never intended to ratify a Constitution, which considered and treated slavery as illegal; for they never understood themselves as entering into a Union upon the basis of the immorality and illegality of slavery. Then, of course, they never *did* enter into any such arrangement. The adoption, therefore, of an anti-slavery interpretation of the Constitution is simply the adoption of a denial of the existence of any Union between slaveholders and the enemies of slaveholding in this country—the friends of the anti-slavery interpretation of the Constitution. My friend Pierpont is not in a Union with the Douglases, and Masons, and Badgers of the South; he is not in a Union with Franklin Pierce in the Presidential chair; he is not in a Union with the men of Massachusetts in the Congress of the United States; he is not in a Union with any single State of this confederacy, because there is not one which has ever supposed itself to have adopted such a Constitution as he contends for; and if it never supposed it, then, of course, it never *did* adopt such a Constitution ("hear, hear"). There can be no contract unless there has been a *drawing together* of the parties. It is a *distract*; and he is *distract* from almost the entire North, and the North from him; and the attempt to carry out his interpretation of the Constitution would certainly reveal the distraction resulting therefrom. It is not, therefore, waiting for the South to withdraw from the Union, but it is denying that the South is in the Union, or ever was in the Union; and denying, also, that the North ever was. It is a Union of some few noble-hearted men with strong feelings in favour of human rights; and it does not even take in all the men of that class who do not belong to it, because they do not believe as my friend does. So much upon that point.

So far as our friend Pierpont is concerned, there is nothing particularly to object to, for he has conceded all that we contend for. He has conceded, first, that the Constitution was intended to be pro-slavery in the particulars referred to; and he has conceded, secondly, that a Constitution which is pro-slavery ought not to be upheld and sustained by honest, freedom-loving men; and if we cannot have any Union but a pro-slavery Union, the Union ought to be dissolved. He has, therefore, conceded the whole ground, since he has, in these concessions, conceded that the only Union we actually have now is a pro-slavery Union. But I will offer one argument, which, although it is not necessary to meet his case, will meet the case of some other speakers and authorities here. I have not time to examine the various points in detail, but I present this one argument. I hold that the Constitution of a country is what the word means; it is that whereon the various portions of the country are set together, not something that they are apart upon; it is something that they agree about. I hold, when men tell me—as many do, though my friend Pierpont does not—that the Constitution was meant to be anti-slavery, that there is this evidence of the falsehood of their position. They admit that, in the administration of the government, in the actual execution of the provisions of the Constitution, it has been made pro-slavery from the beginning. The rendition of fugitives, the suppression of slave insurrections, the apportionment of slave representation, the maintenance of the foreign slave trade for twenty years, these all prove that the Constitution has been practically, be the theoretical meaning what it may, pro-slavery. It has been so used, and made to be such by use. Nobody denies that. Well, who used it? Why, the people, through their recognised officers and agents, they themselves continually assenting to what their officers and agents have done. Remember, now, that the assumption I am controverting is, that the Constitution was originally made, and intended to be made, anti-slavery. Now, when men set themselves to make any instrument which they desire to use, I believe they generally aim to make just the instrument they want to use. If I wanted to make an axe, and had the crude iron before me, I should go to work and make an axe. But here the people have found a scythe, and have gone to work hewing the forest trees. Does not that prove that if they had had the crude iron out of which to make their instrument, they would not have used a scythe? If the people were so anxious to have a pro-slavery Constitution that they took an anti-slavery one and used it for that purpose, does not that prove conclusively that they did not intend to make an *anti-slavery* instrument? I hold that it does.

I wish to say one word more in reply to a preceding speaker, our friend Wasson. He urged as an objection against the doctrine of Disunion, that we shall leave the South to go on in the perpetration of its enormities, unrestrained by what amount of counteraction the North now wields. Then, he says, they will multiply the number of their slaves, and augment their oppression, without any hold-back by the influence of the North. Why, it seems to me that it is a very easy matter to dash the brains out of that argument. Does not our friend know, does not the whole history of the country prove, that the Slave Power has won all its triumphs by the might of the Union—by the aid of the North? If we had had no Union, do you think Texas would have been annexed? Do you think the South could have waged a war with Mexico for the purpose of obtaining new territory for slavery, without the help of the North? And do you think the South would have had the remotest shadow of a shade or the remotest prospect of a hope of obtaining further additions to its territory, except as it draws that hope from the anticipated aid of the North? The South has succeeded through Northern strength all the way along, and it understands how the thing is done. In the case of the Mexican war, the South knew better than to make a bold and frank proposal to go to war with that country; she knew the North would never consent to it; so she just jogs the elbow of President Polk, and says, "Get up a war with Mexico, now. Commit some aggression; and then, when Mexico resents it, proclaim that war exists by the act of Mexico," which, of course, you know is true. If I smite you in the face, Mr. Chairman, that is not a battle—there is no war as yet; but if you rise up and return the blow, then war exists by your act, and I may turn round and complain that war exists by your act, and call on everybody who knows me to give me their aid. That was what the South did; and then, with the profane doctrine of our insane and atheistic patriotism, "Our country, right or wrong!" the South knew very well she could enlist the strength of the North to win her victory, in the name of patriotism—for the honour of the nation, and the maintenance of our rights.

The South relies upon the same thing in regard to Cuba. When even Spanish patience can endure no more, and Spanish composure is disturbed to the point of resistance, then she will declare that war exists by the act of Spain, and summon the North, as well as the South, to defend the cause of the country. So, Cuba is to be seized, and Hayti, and Mexico, and Central America, to open new fields to the rapacious Slave Power.

Now, let the Union be dissolved, and the South never can get another inch of slave territory. Let this Union be dissolved, and the South cannot hold what she has got. She cannot send her armed ruffians into Kansas, to trample on the rights which she herself was so clamorous for the nation to set up; and we shall have all the territory of the country, which is not now actually occupied by slavery, for the service of freedom. We shall have a country in which a freeman, once setting his foot, is free forever. And, when this is accomplished, what will slavery be worth all along the border? In the course of dies there; and not there only, but the disposition to escape will spread from province to province, from county to county, until the value of slave property will not pay the trouble of keeping it.

Slavery would die without the help of this Union. I deprecate insurrection as much as our friend (Mr. Wasson) does, and I believe we should not need that to drive slavery out of the country. Besides, it is a mistake to suppose that we are going to let the South alone when we have dissolved the Union. Political Union is one point of assault, but, after we have carried that, we have still our moral influence—the ability to bear upon the sense of honour, the conscience and regard for self-interest of the slaveholder. We have a thousand channels through which we can pour our anti-slavery influence upon them, until we wither up, in its burning heat, the very roots of the slave system, and leave the institution to perish and crumble into ashes (loud applause).

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Mr. Phillips, on coming forward, was greeted with loud and repeated cheers. When the storm of applause had subsided, he addressed the audience as follows:

Mr. Chairman: Our distinctive policy is the necessity of a dissolution of the American Union, in order to the abolition of slavery; and although the subject has been very thoroughly discussed to-day, yet I trust the audience, some of whom, perhaps, may not have been in attendance during the morning and afternoon sessions, will tolerate some further remarks from me, because—if for no other reason—in my opinion, it is the one essential point of the anti-slavery movement—the one principle which needs to be firmly fixed, out of which conduct and purpose and system must grow.

In the first place, I would clear away some of the mistakes, as it seems to me, which have been made in the objections urged against the doctrine of Disunion. This is an Anti-Slavery Society. We are bound, therefore, to show that the dissolution of the American Union is a measure leading to the abolition of slavery. I think we are bound to show more than that; we are bound to show that it is not only *probably* to lead in that direction, but that it is an essential preliminary to the abolition of slavery, or at least the only probable method of ending it. No man has a right to disturb the government of his country, even by discussion, unless for grave reasons. The abolition of slavery is the one thing sufficient to justify a movement to rend these States asunder. We have nothing to do here with the dissolution of the Union, in regard to its securing for us at the North greater liberty. We are not here to benefit the white man; we are not here to protect ourselves: we are not here to honour Massachusetts; we are not here to raise her to the higher level of a safe government; we are not here to criticise the churches of Massachusetts in order that they may be better religious institutions for us—that may be a very good purpose for individuals, and for other organizations, but not for us. Our purpose is single—*the Abolition of Slavery.* The only aim, therefore, for which we can criticise the condition of Massachusetts churches, Massachusetts politics, or Massachusetts government, is in order to remodel and direct it in such a way as will secure the abolition of slavery. I have not demonstrated my problem if I do not show that I must abolish this Union first, in order to get the means to abolish slavery. We do not tear down merely for the pleasure of tearing down. We do not tear down merely because we ourselves are trodden down. Patriotism might dictate that—many other motives—but not anti-slavery motives. I tear the parchment of the Union asunder because it stands between me and my duty to the Carolina slave (cheers). For that reason alone—in order to get at him—in order to right him—in order to do my duty under God to him—that is my reason for advocating the dissolution of the Union.

It was observed, this afternoon, that there was a time when the first Abolitionist for the first moment awoke to the real character of the Constitution, and it seemed to be intimated that, therefore, we ought to be patient with those who are in the same position that such an Abolitionist was before he came to that conviction. Doubtless we ought to be; and the very object of this meeting is patience; the object of all this discussion is patience with our brethren of the community, to endeavour to drag them up, or down, to the right, or to the left, to our own position—to convince them. What have we done? Argued, or tried to argue, this question. We are as patient with the community as it is possible for men thoroughly convinced to be. That is why we devote day and night, all our energies, our influence, our purses, our voices, our lives, to the inculcation of the doctrine which has been brought home to our convictions. We do not suppose or expect that a community like this will receive so radical a doctrine tolerantly, much less gratefully. We presuppose from the beginning that it will create repulsion; that in many minds it will close the door almost against argument; that others will listen to it hesitatingly, falteringly. *Punch* says that a cat, even if she be most kindly, never approaches you in a straight line—she comes up sideways—turning round your stupidities, rubbing against your antipathies; and when she reaches you, perhaps she begins to scratch (laughter). So it is with truth. It comes up sideways; it turns round old habits, makes its way through narrow views, bigotted attachments to things we have never examined, faith in words, not things—*catch-words*, that have kept our infant minds in leading-strings, though we be eighty years old; and when it gets near us, we repel it. I was alluding, last night, to this point, in connection with the touching story told us by Mr. Higginson of the last words of John Davis, uttered almost tearfully in his private room at Washington—the conviction of his life. What was it? With his arms resting on the table, and his face half covered in his hands, he said—"Mr. Sumner, do you wish to know the experience of my long official life? It is, that slavery rules everything here?" What said Adams? The same. Your venerable father, Mr. President (Edmund Quincy), after a life that had uttered the same truth, with eighty years on his brow, comes to tell us, in his recent letter, that, with the capital, and the prejudices, and the Constitution of the country against the anti-slavery movement, he hardly sees where there is any ground for hope of its success. These are remarkable testimonies. They are not young men, turned aside by present interests, or led astray by passion. They have reached that epoch when, as Chancellor Kent says, "Men begin to act less from the promptings of ambition, and more from a profound sense of duty." As Young said of the value of time, so may we of the character of politics—

"Ask the death-beds—they can tell."

Ask the octogenarians, who have outlived ambition, outlived everything but the love of country—they can tell you. It is from voices like these that we learn the hidden disease that eats out our nation's life.

Dissolution, then, is proposed by us solely as the means toward the abolition of slavery. In the first place, it is the simple dictate of experience—nothing more. In politics, there is no testimony like that, of experience. The country has lived under this government sixty or seventy years, with as good men as we can hope in times to come. We have had every variety of questions, foreign and internal, the enactment of laws, pecuniary policy, and all others. Is there a man here who can point to a single question—*one single question*—where the South has put forth its strength, in which it has not been victorious? I said the South; I mean the *Slave Power*, which resides as much in State street as in Richmond; in the bosom of Lemuel Shaw as in South Carolina. That poem to which you have just listened* is the voice of a triumphant heart over the nullification of Massachusetts. Massachusetts cannot nullify! Lemuel Shaw rests like a nightmare on her Judiciary, and the Legislature itself cannot get over the colossal institution, the Judiciary—the Supreme Court, anchored in the prejudices of a past generation, and which neither the discussions nor the change of sentiment of the present day can reach. We must elect our judges, before they will answer back to the enactments of the people (loud and repeated cheers). The Massachusetts of 1812 and 1820—the Massachusetts of Prescott, and Cabot, and Story—the Massachusetts of the last generation—is dead and buried, and sealed down in the grave at Marshfield. Its epoch is over. The time of the Massachusetts of the middle of the nineteenth century has come; but it must rend away the cerements of a Judiciary rooted in the prejudices of the past, before it can rise and take its place (loud cheers).

Just here let me reply to the argument used, this afternoon, in regard to the dissolution of the Union. Men say, "Why, you can get public opinion up to the level of abolishing slavery, up to the level of reforming the Union, up to the level of changing the Constitution, sooner than you can raise it to the level of breaking up the Union itself." I do not think so; and I will tell you why. The dissolution of the Union is Revolution. The dissolution of the Union is a thing that will take place, when it does take place, in the enthusiasm of the moment—in the indignant burst which will sweep from Berkshire to Barnstable, and sweep the Custom-House where the [illegible] party—we will do it; we need to conquer State street—we will do it; we need to bury old politicians—we will do it. If we begin to make it a political question, it will last forever. In 1649, the English planted, under the scaffold of Charles the First, before Whitehall, the principle of popular sovereignty—the idea that the people have a right to call their kings up to judgment. For a year it endured, but it went down when Cromwell died, and Charles the Second took the throne of his fathers; and the struggle of the people against the Aristocracy, the struggle of the masses against capital, against the oligarchy of the Commons and the anchored calm of the Peers, recommenced as a political question, and has been going on until to-day. It is not finished yet. Victoria reigns on the throne of the Guelphs. The wealth of the House of Commons, the arbitrary privileges of the House of Peers have

populi, suprema lex"—the safety of the people is the final and highest law. They came together and adopted their Constitution. They announced their purpose to secede if nine could agree, and eleven of the thirteen States actually *seceded*, leaving two to shift for themselves. "Little Rhody" and North Carolina cried out, "O, the Articles of Confederation! they are to be perpetual. What right has Massachusetts to secede—what right has South Carolina to secede—what right have New York and Pennsylvania to secede from Rhode Island and North Carolina?" (Laughter.) New York replied as Connecticut did in old colony times, when the charter of the King run that Connecticut stretched west as far as the Pacific ocean, and so they claimed to hold. But the Dutch, looking on the map, saw that such a Connecticut took in all New York, and cried, "Why, gentlemen of Connecticut! where then is New York?" And Connecticut replied, very coolly, "We don't know! (Laughter.) That's no business of ours." And so New York, when Rhode Island asked, "Where is your right to secede?" answered, "We don't know; but we have seceded"; and they staid seceded. Suppose we try it again, and see if they won't let us stay out. It is the genius of the age—it is "manifest destiny" (laughter). Everybody is seceding. The foundations of the great deep are broken up all over the continent. Mexico has been broken up; Cuba is to be broken up; everybody is seceding. Massachusetts cannot afford to be out of fashion.

But, seriously, it is the political creed of the day that men and nations and countries and states have the right to arrange their form of Government for themselves. My dissolution begins first in my own person. Nobody can make me a citizen; God made me a man first. You can—you nineteen of the twenty—get together and form a Constitution—write it out on parchment in large letters—seal it with heavy sealing-wax, and say, "It is a law—it is a law of God; kneel down and kiss it!" but I, the twentieth, may refuse to obey you, and you have neither the right nor the power to oblige me to obey. To be sure, you are the majority, and you may take this portion of territory, and set up what government you please; but, in the meantime, I shall exercise the supreme right of each individual to say, "I will not enter into your government!" Is not that good sense? ("Yes.") Is it bad law? ("No.") Is not all government based on the consent of the governed? At least, that is the American idea. Jefferson said so; everybody said so in '76; they said so in '89; all the Constitutions say so. You say, "There is the Constitution." I reply, "I don't like it; I won't vote under it; I shall go just what I please with it; I think it stands in the way of my reaching that slave in the Carolinas. I think it gives unjust power to his master. It sets up a government that has always turned its strength against him. I will not join it!" (Applause.)

But, says my friend, "I am going to join it. I know that you have put a certain construction upon it that I do not put; no matter—I am going to join it. I know you understand my promise to be that I will return fugitive slaves—but I do not so understand it—I never shall do any such vile thing. I am going to take office, in order to bring the nation over to my mind. I have a right to do so, I have a right to be a Senator, Judge, Commissioner, and not return slaves, although I acknowledge that the nation understands me to agree to do so." That is what *Abolitionists* say—those who call themselves "Abolitionists"! So far as we have yet heard from Mr. CHARLES SUMNER, he says so; and JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS says so. He says, "Why do you Garrisonians stay outside? Why don't you come in and exercise your influence, to convert the people, and turn the Government into your channel?" Let us look at it! You say, "We don't mean to return slaves"; but, in the meantime, you hold out that Constitution to us, which it is allowed on all hands now, for the sake of the argument, does agree that slaves shall be returned—have I a right to swear to support it, to get influence? Suppose me a Unitarian. There is an Orthodox church in Essex street—Dr. Adams's. I go to the clergyman, and I say, "Dr. Adams, what is your creed?" He hands me a little book, containing it—the trinity, the atonement, and all the other Orthodox doctrines, and, says he, "Do you believe that?" I reply, "Yes." "Do you want to join the church?" "Yes." "Will you sign that creed and swear to maintain it?" "Yes." "Then you are a member." Having thus entered the church, the exercises are finished, and I walk into the street, and I meet one of these friends here who knows me, and he says, "I hear you have joined Dr. Adams's church." I say, "Yes." "I thought you was a Unitarian." "So I am." "How did you get there, then?" "Why, I signed the creed." "Did you say you believed in the trinity?" "Yes." "Did you say you believed in the atonement, &c., &c.?" "Yes." "What did you do it for?" "*To get influence*" (laughter and loud cheers). Perhaps he pauses a little, looks puzzled, and asks me what I mean; and suppose I should say, "I have gone in there to convert those gentlemen, and my first object is to tell a lie, and say I agree with them—then they will respect me" (laughter and cheers). You know that would not be manly; you know it would not be honest; you know it would not gain influence; you know it would do no good. Well, now, the country stands exactly like that church. It holds up to us a Constitution. It says, "Mr. A. B., do you believe that?—that is, do you swear to support it?"—and to swear to support a thing of course includes the affirmation that we think it right; otherwise, we must think, being wrong, it ought not to be supported. Old Fletcher of Saltoun said, "I would die to serve my country; but I would not do a wicked thing to save her." So I say to this nation, "I will do anything I can to save my country, but no man can ask me to do a wicked thing to get influence; and certainly it is a wicked thing for me to say I mean to support the Constitution, when I mean to do no such thing" (applause).

Let me ask, Do these men really get any influence when they go to Congress? I do not stand here to pluck a leaf from the laurels of Adams, Giddings, Hale, Chase of Ohio, Wilson, or Sumner. I believe that they have done and will do all that men in their situation can do; but I do not believe that they have done or can do anything effectual, standing where they are. They have stood there at Washington; they have done manly services No brave, honest word or deed is ever lost. But there is in all things a wise way and a wasteful one—a right path and a wrong one. They have made great speeches; they have presented elaborate arguments; they have shown sleepless vigilance; they have warned the country; but, where is the measure they have arrested? Giddings devoted himself life-long to prevent the Government paying for slaves killed in its service, and has been beaten. All the national questions have been carried against them. I have not time to dwell upon the particular instances; but I say that these men are only sentinels at Washington, to warn us of the danger they can neither diminish nor avert. Adams with his age, Hale with his wit, Sumner with his eloquence, Giddings with his dogged persistency, have never been able to checkmate or stop, for a single year, the progress of the Government. On with relentless purpose, on with unfaltering energy the Slave Power has gone; just as fast since they have been there as before. Where are the proofs of their success? Every man must allow that, standing upon that platform, with the sounding-board of official position over their heads, they have preached noble anti-slavery lectures, and have had magnificent audiences. That is a great benefit; and if a man could get it honestly, who would not covet to stand in the position HENRY WILSON occupies to day—a great nation for his audience, and the conscience of Massachusetts at his back? No man is insane enough not to value that noble position before the world which makes his service glorious. But these men can do nothing—have done nothing; they are only sentinels on the watch-tower, to warn us of the danger they can neither diminish nor avert.

Mark me! I am not unjust. I allow they are faithful—never were men more faithful; but fidelity is not efficiency; fidelity is not success. Men say of CHARLES SUMNER, "His shield is all white; no sword has ever touched, much less marred, it." I admit it—I know he is honest (loud cheers). Oh, yes; they are all most faithful. But fidelity is one thing, efficiency sometimes quite another. Some dozen years ago, I stood in the once buried city of Pompeii, on the spot where a Roman soldier, the sentinel at her gates, allowed himself to be buried in the falling ashes, rather than quit his post. So stern was the discipline of the Roman armies, so entire the fidelity of her soldiers, that not the dissolution of nature herself, as the eruption of the mountain must have seemed, could fright him from his post. Seventeen hundred years have passed, and the traveller from a then undiscovered country pauses to admire that lone and nameless man's unquailing loyalty to his Eagle and his oath. Yet not all that sublime fidelity could turn back one flake of the ashes of Vesuvius, or arrest for one moment the doom of that fated city.

So stand our sentinels, our Sumner, Giddings, Chase. History will guard their names as rare instances of sleepless vigilance, of unfaltering loyalty to right. Fraud cannot cheat, danger cannot fright, office cannot buy them. But, alas! like the Roman soldier, all that fidelity cannot lift one feather's weight from the yoke of the bondman, or arrest, for one moment, the shadow of despotism as it steals over the troubled mirror of the republic (loud applause).

No, they can do nothing. It is not their fault. They are tied hand and foot. It is in the nature of the thing they are contending against. It is the wealth of the country, it is the literature of the country, it is the aristocracy of the country, it is the political arrangements of the country. In one scale you put two thousand millions of dollars, the aristocracy of the three-fifths slave basis, the wealth of State street, the servility of the *Daily Advertiser*—a press bought and paid for—a pulpit bought, and not worth paying for (great cheering)—literature emasculated, as we saw in that sad instance to-day, by one who had done such noble service in the reform field—even in the cold atmosphere of New England (can it be that one whose banner bears the motto, "A wicked law is *no* law," blotted out Cowper in obedience to the laws of South Carolina, that his book might sell?)—all this in one scale; and in the other, the "Sermon on the Mount." Give it time—yes! give it centuries—and it will make all that wealth and prejudice kick the beam! But, in the meantime, God commands that we should so arrange circumstances that men shall be free. What shall stop this perpetual holocaust of genius in Massachusetts sacrificed to the demands of the Slave Power. Our course is a perfect copy of Sisyphus. We always toil up, up, up the hill, until we touch the soiled sandals of some Governor Gardner, and then the rock rolls down again. Always some miserable reptile that has wriggled into power in the corruption of parties—"reptiles that creep where *man* disdains to climb"; some slight thing, of no consequence, till its foul mess blocks our path, and dashes our hopes in the last moment. That is always our history. We have got a Personal Liberty bill. We shall carry it up to the Chief Justice for baptism, and he will fling it from the window, and Massachusetts will stand just where she did before.

While a slaveholder sits in the Presidential chair at Washington, and appoints offices in State street, slavery will rule in State street. We want to make literature and the press independent—what the Liverpool and London press is. They are just as much connected, commercially, with New Orleans, as we are; but Englishmen dare to say that a slave is a slave, and a slaveholder a tyrant, and print Cowper without expurgation. Let us make it possible for a man to make an honest living in Boston, without expurgating school books. That is what we mean; a change of circumstances, so that our great men and little men, preachers, and editors, and all, may have a public to which they may look, and which will support them. We do not believe in a virtue superior to circumstances, in the masses. I know there are martyrs—men virtuous in spite of circumstances; but they are exceeding few. Saints do not travel in batallions. In old times, they put such a man on the top of a pillar, and left him there, a hermit. Half a dozen such pillars would be ample for all New England (laughter and applause). The masses are made by the circumstances behind and around them, and we must change the circumstances to attain our end.

We are only little men; "rub-a-dub agitators," "mice," Mr. Webster said. But it was a mouse which gnawed the net in which the lion was encaged. That is what we are doing (applause). We want to make it possible for our great men to stay at home in Massachusetts, and not wait until their official days are ended, before they confess, in private, when their mantle has fallen upon their successor, that their life has been one great hypocrisy and mistake, and "slavery rules the country." JOHN DAVIS never broke voice into such a confession until Massachusetts struck the spurs from her false knight, broke his sword, and reduced him to a private citizen. Then he had a tongue of his own! Oh, keep every Massachusetts man a private citizen, if he must barter his tongue for office! (Cheers.) I do not like sinning in the Senate House, and confessing my repentance in an upper chamber! (Renewed cheering.) I do not like sinning for twelve years, in acts that doom millions to slavery, and then whispering the confession of my mistake into the ear of a sympathizing young man, that he may tell it in mercy to my memory! That single anecdote is enough to justify the dissolution of the Union. Keep our John Davises at Worcester! Let them listen to the preaching of an independent pulpit; let them read out of old "Alden's Reader," if the "First Class Book" will not do; let us go back to the frightful wood-cuts of those old school books, and put aside the tempting novelties borrowed from a larger country. Keep our Senators at home, and they will not need eighty years to learn the A B C of our national politics.

This, then, is what we mean by a dissolution of the Union; this is why we seek for it. I do not believe it will do any harm to the North; but I do not care whether it does or not. When we meet as citizens of Massachusetts, we will attend to that; but in the meantime, we are Abolitionists, and have only to inquire, Will it have a tendency to abolish slavery? and we think it will.

People say, "Why, you have left the slaves there unprotected, and can do nothing for them." We can do just as much as we do now. GARRISON can print the *Liberator* in Boston, then, and I do not think he can print it in Charleston, S. C., now (applause). Boston books will go just as far in the Southern country as now, for you have to expurgate them before they do go (renewed applause). Perhaps foreign literature may be smuggled in, where native is not admitted. But, "the slave will be left to himself." Yes; and what sort of leaving to himself will it be? Those slave States must pay the expenses of government. South Carolina will have to stand up on her own feet, and we have dandled her in the cradle, an uneasy, feverish child, long enough. She has always broken her bauble, thrown away her rattle, and wanted a new one, and we have given it to her; but she never yet has paid the expenses of her government—never! Let these sovereign beggars of Carolina earn their own living—that is what Disunion means. Massachusetts, with a million of working men—all Yankees, shrewd, active, industrious—getting up by candle-light, and going to bed late—living on nothing, and laying up the difference (laughter). Massachusetts plants in the granite and reaps her harvest from the sand, and saves four per cent. a year out of it, and that is all. She pays the expenses of her local government, and her other expenses, manages to put a coat on her back and a loaf of bread on her table, and has four per cent. nett profit to lay up—every one of us working men. South Carolina has more black men than white—they are nearly equally divided. The whites do not work, and it is proved beyond dispute that one slave's work is worth about one-third that of a freeman. Give it a liberal margin—call it one-half. Here, then, we have the equivalent of one-fourth labouring population, and the remaining three-fourths live on the difference. How much will they lay up? They do not make the year's end meet. Now, then, send out this prodigal son, who has never paid his tailor's bill, and see what his tailor's bill will be. Send out that State to shift for herself. Where is she to get her taxes? The New York custom-house is closed, the Boston custom-house is closed. The North has gone off; the South, with one-half her population working men, has got to support the government. Which way is she to turn? She must educate her labour. Educated labour is the secret of Massachusetts' success. An American operative is worth fifty per cent. more than a European, because he is better educated. The South says, "I must educate these negroes." Put a hogshead of gunpowder under the Capitol, and touch fire to it, and look the next day for your Capitol! (Cheers.) Educate the slaves! As Cowper says—

> "One ray of heavenly light
> Melts all the chain away." (Applause.)

No man has been allowed to sit with a lapstone on his knees who has not hammered out something besides leather; never has one been allowed to throw the shuttle who has not wrought out a halter for the neck of a tyrant. The mechanical trades cannot be taught to rude and vulgar people. The slaveholders of Virginia said, "There is a demand for mechanical labour; we will send our slaves into Norfolk navy yard, and make money out of them." They did so; but their Southern brethren said "No! that cannot be allowed. Our negroes are not safe if you turn these farming slaves into mechanics." *Mechanics!*—it has an awful sound! Why, it was the mechanics of Holland that filed away the Spanish chain. It was the mechanics of France that checkmated Louis the Grand. It is the mechanics of England that have worked up and up, until, like the gnawing ocean against Massachusetts' rocks, they have undermined the throne of the Guelphs, leaving it as the Spanish Courtier told Philip, "an etiquette." Set up a mill in Carolina! the plainest knell of the slaveholder is the weaver's shuttle. Educate your slaves, and their exodus from bondage is sure. Open their books, you open their Red Sea. But you must; you cannot keep your government without it. That is the reason why the slaveholders will never let us separate, if it is in their power to prevent it. Instead of one Anthony Burns, we should have thousands. They would never go back; and it would not need Hallett's fifty dollars to restore them to the freedom their own daring had won. They would swarm here in crowds. The whole working population would rise up some sunny morning, and walk away, and leave the *gentlemen* to get their breakfasts! (Applause.)

"Why," you say, "this sort of thing would not do; it would create civil war." Not so. The slave does not ask us to give him that old musket which hangs in our friend PARKER'S study, rusty with the blood of Lexington. He asks a better thing than muskets in the nineteenth century—the might of political economy, and the laws of industry that God fixed. Wickedness is not only wicked but weak; and unless you can seduce free labour and freedom into bulwarking slavery, it cannot stand in the light of the nineteenth century. Let Massachusetts, therefore, say to Carolina—"Go off! Pay your own bills!"—that is equivalent to a dissolution of the Union. *She* threaten to leave the Union! Why, she cannot walk! (Applause.) Nobody will go out, unless we go. She cannot go. "An empty sack cannot stand alone," says the proverb. She has not yet stood alone (renewed cheers). When they tell us, sneeringly, as men do sometimes, that we ought to leave, because we are Abolitionists, it is nonsense; but when they deny our *right* to go out, that is another question.

I will not, however, detain you longer. ("Go on," "go on.") I will only say that the laws of political economy, the laws of industry, which rest on the laws of God, are stronger than parchments; and that when we ask for a dissolution of the Union, we only ask that each tub may stand on its own bottom (cheers). If Carolina civilization is better than ours, let her gird up her loins and show it; but do not let her shield herself behind Massachusetts. I remember once standing on the quays of Genoa, and seeing the frigate Ohio at anchor in the harbour; and half Italy, with gay banners and floating pennants, had come out to see her, to admire the proportions and gaze at the star-lit banner as the emblem of the liberty of the West; and I thought then, what is it gives to our country its strength and name in Europe? It is not bankrupt Carolina—she is never heard of; it is not crippled and lifeless Alabama—who speaks of her? It is the fresh blood of the young giant of the North; it is Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio; it is *free labour* that tells its tale the world over. It is the resources, the industry, the activity, the vigour of free labour that makes America what she is among the nations. Slavery averts her doom by hiding herself behind it. Dissolution drags her out to the light, and she dies in the blaze of the nineteenth century (loud and repeated cheers).

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1855.

FOURTH OF JULY.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will commemorate the anniversary of the *Declaration of Independence*, by holding a Mass Meeting, on the ensuing FOURTH OF JULY, at the beautiful Grove in Framingham, in honour of the principle of FREEDOM FOR ALL, SLAVERY FOR NONE, and for the purpose of increasing the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, and hastening the day when the foot-print of a slaveholder shall no more pollute our soil, nor the wails and cries of a slave testify before Heaven and Earth of our country's crime and shame.

Eloquent speakers will address the meeting. The attractions of the place are too well known to need particular mention.

The *Boston and Worcester Railroad Co.* will carry passengers, on that day, from Boston, Worcester, and Milford, to the Grove (at an hour to be named hereafter), and back again, at *half the usual fare*.

FRANCIS JACKSON,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
HENRY ORNE STONE,
AUGUSTINE C. TAFT,
} *Committee of Arrangements.*

THE KNOW-EVERYTHINGS.

IT is the blessing of the Anti-Slavery Movement that nothing ever goes wrong with it. All sorts of forces, those that are meant to hold it back or to block its wheels, as well as what are directly applied to urge it forward, all help it on its destined way. Church and State combine to crush it; Herod and Pilate are at one for its destruction; yet such is its sturdy vitality that it seems all the more alive the more blows are dealt at its heart. The politics of the country, with the best intentions of politicians of almost all shades, cannot be so moulded as not to take its impress. Its image and superscription is to be seen on all parties, and even the melting-pot or the crucible cannot keep its [illegible] of sight longer than the state or [illegible] ments begin to form themselves anew into fresh shapes, this subtle spirit, like those of the Rosicrusian philosophy, reassumes its sway over them. Violence and neglect have both been tried, and both have failed. Mobs have assailed it; Governors and Presidents have attacked it; Doctors of Divinity have denounced it as of the Devil; Statecraft, Churchcraft, Shopcraft and Snobcraft have arrayed themselves against it, and have agreed to make it treasonable, heretical, unprofitable, unfashionable; and yet it lives and walks abroad and bids the parties and the sects do its work, and they do it in spite of themselves. They struggle to keep themselves clear of it. They declare and protest that they are. But no platform can bury it; no creed can exorcise it. It is a Presence which will make itself felt. Like the Ancient Mariner, it "holds them by its glittering eye," and they must listen to its tale whether they will or no. And this because men are so made that the knowledge of a great wrong and cruelty in their neighbourhood will compel their notice and sympathy; and none the less when their consciences tell them that they are themselves verily guilty in the matter.

The last attempt to construct a party with Slavery left out was in the case of the latest political invention of all. Among the things which the Know-Nothings were to know nothing about was Slavery. But it was of no use. They had to know it, and Macbeth could as well have kept Banquo's chair empty as they have hindered the Spectre that haunts us from taking its place at their board. And whatever might have been the principle of the party which was doomed, of necessity, to spring into life, about this time, out of the corruption and decomposition of the old parties, it could not have helped feeling the weight of the hand of Anti-Slavery upon its rudder and its breath in its sails. The progress of the Election in Virginia has been watched with anxious eyes by all who had any stake in the game of which this continent is the table. The Abolitionists, only, who look over the gamesters' shoulders, and who have no risks of their own involved, felt no concern; for they were sure that the issue of the game would be their gain, let it go as it might. If the Know-Nothings had prevailed there, then the Democratic Party had received its *coup de grace*, and would infest the land no more. This would have been a result most cordially to be wished, and, had it been so ordered, we doubt not that all things would have worked together for good. But we think that the defeat of the Know-Nothings and the victory of the jubilant Democrats will the soonest produce desirable results—the destruction of the Democrats among the number. If the Know-Nothings have any virtue, which their acts, in many instances, have led us to hope, it is saved from the temptation which has been the bane of that of all its predecessors. The Southern Alliance has always been as fatal to Northern parties as the Spanish Ulcer and the Austrian Match were to Napoleon. It has always ate the heart out of their bosoms. They have sometimes seemed to have a brave one there; but as soon as they had embraced that Vampire, their life's blood was sucked up and consumed. This danger, this certain death, they may escape, if the Slaveholders will only set their faces as flints against them.

The Slaveholders are anything but Know-Nothings. They are, rather, Know-Everythings. Their instincts are unerring, and they are masters of the political science which teaches the Few to rule the Many. They grow wise by their experience as the Northern men never do. They know that they have governed the country since the establishment of the Government by working on the Interest of the leaders and the Ignorance of the masses of the North. The old Democratic party, particularly now that it will be reenforced by all the worst part of the annihilated Whig party, is their safest ally, and the mass of the Foreign Population are even more to be depended upon than those native and to the manner born. They snuff the taint of Abolitionism afar off, and they feel, with the sure tact of tyrants, that new things are dangerous to them. The leaders of the new party may assert, as loudly as they please, and may be as sincere as they can be, that they mean to leave the subject of Slavery alone—the wiser Slaveholders know that it cannot be, and that the impulse given to thought by any Revolutionary movement must be damaging to an old Abuse like Slavery. They know that it is true, as Fisher Ames once said, that there is no such thing as blowing a barrel of gunpowder half-way down! Their only safety lies in keeping the match away from it altogether. They have always shown a perfect knowledge of the secret of saving their rotten institutions as long as possible, by keeping from them the light and air of day. In no despotism of Europe is a closer watch kept on all disaffection within its domain, and in none is it more dangerous to be suspected of it. The same *espionage* and *surveillance* they have tried to maintain in the Free States, as well. And, to our shame be it spoken, there have never been wanting men in the highest seats of the political and ecclesiastical synagogues to give them their best wishes and their helping hands. It has only been by a long conflict, at a great disadvantage of numbers and influence, and with every *prestige* of society against us, that the Abolitionists have made an effectual stand against the conspiracy. The Slaveholders are right in hating the Know-Nothings, even if many of these latter know nothing of the wherefore. They may be building better than they know; but it is not better than the Slaveholders know. *They* see the end from the beginning.

This Virginia defeat probably settles the question as to the sense of the Slaveholders about the new movement. The Know-Nothings, if they hope for the Presidency and the control of the Government for the next four years, must look to the North only. By a union of all the elements of political strength at home, it is by no means certain that they may not elect the next President by Northern votes alone. It is hardly to be hoped that they will not try to curry favour with the Slaveholders by nominating perhaps one of their own order, certainly some doughface that will be acceptable to the Overseer party. It would be better for themselves if they would try to stand on their own legs instead of leaning on that broken staff. But they have believed in "that crutch-like rod" so long that it is hardly to be expected they should muster courage at once to throw it away entirely. But it will be a long step in advance if a President, even though a Slaveholder or a Slaveholder's Toady, could be chosen by the votes of Northern men alone. The next time a party might be strengthened to set up for itself and to close its account with the bankrupt firm at the South forever. The Slaveholders possess by a natural organization the advantages which the Know-Nothings have sought to secure by an artificial one. Every neighbourhood of Slaveholders is a Lodge, or Order, or Council, secret in its plans, and known only by its triumphant success. Having a well-understood purpose and an interest which is real and vital to them to hold them together, there is no need of pass-words and grand hailing signs of distress. The ownership of a negro is an outward and visible sign of membership, and the direction of the most sagacious and experienced of the society is accepted by all the rest. With many of the Know-Nothings, the Paddyphobia is but a Make-believe—a mere disguise under which to push certain other private or public ends. They have no fears of Giant Pope any more than of Giant Pagan, and they put on their terrors as a militia company does its uniform, for a specific and temporary purpose. But it is not so with the Slaveholding Know-Everythings. The Abolitionists are a genuine fear to them, and the maintenance of the *status quo* at home is a question of life and death with them. Therefore, there is no danger of there ever being a real split in their ranks.

Whatever tends to the creation of a Sectional Party is a hopeful sign. Sectionalism is the element, of all others, that must go into the composition of a "healthy political organization." We have always been, and now are, governed by a Sectional party, calling itself National. The compact oligarchy of Slaveholders, having every Congressional District there in their hands as much as the Landholders in England held the Rotten Boroughs, fifty years ago, have always governed the country, through their nominees. It is because they formed a Sectional Party that they have had this supremacy so long and so absolutely. And it is only by an antagonistic Sectionalism that their authority is to be overthrown. What the times demand is a Northern Party, *eo nomine*, without any hope or expectation of Southern Alliance, except such as will naturally grow to it from the uneasy masses of the [illegible] at the South. What it is that there is a Party really strong enough to overcome, or to endanger, the present slaveholding predominance, help will come from the Southern States. There is a great mass of disaffection among the non-slaveholders, which is waiting but a good opportunity to develop itself. The Northern Party would thus stretch its ramifications into the Southern States, just as we see the Southern Party now driving its coffles of voters to the polls at the North. We shall have such men as Cassius M. Clay and John G. Fee in the Southern country to counterbalance the Hallettes and the Lorings, the Kanes and the Ingrahams, the Mortons and the Rynderses of the North. These men, and such as they, belong now to the Southern Party. Let the uniform of Nationalism, in which they have disguised themselves, be stripped over their ears, and they be forced to put on the livery of their proper masters. We trust that the Know-Nothing Movement will be the initiation, if not the inauguration, of such a party. Their leaders have no such design, but we think they will be compelled to assume this virtue, though they have it not. If not, the Know-Everythings will swallow them up as they have devoured every other green thing that they have found in their way.

THE KNOW-NOTHING NATIONAL CONVENTION

SECESSION OF NORTHERN DELEGATES—THE SOUTH ALARMED—THE "SILVER GRAY" DOUGHFACES OF NEW YORK—PLATFORMS AND PROJECTS—SIGNS OF A NORTH.

THE report in our last week's issue of the proceedings of the National Council of Know-Nothings in Philadelphia—necessarily very brief—left that body in a very interesting state of moral and political fermentation, consequent upon the introduction therein of the subject of slavery and the attempt to construct a National Platform. The Southern delegates attempted to play again the old game of bluster and bravado, and to frighten the North by ghastly pictures of a severed Union, of commerce annihilated, of Northern cities doomed to desolation for lack of Southern trade and patronage, and of whatever else is most appaling to weak nerves and faint hearts in that procession of horrors which, according to slaveholding and doughface logic, is to pass before us whenever the people of the Free States shall presume to sunder the leash which has so long bound them, like so many spaniels, to the Slave Oligarchy. This scare-crow, nce so potent and so terrible, was found, however, to have lost its power. The Northern "birds o' freedom," profanely perched thereon, fairly frightened its authors by the harsh outburst of their defiant resolves! "Dissolve the Union"—thus ran the new Northern song—"if you dare! You can scare us no longer by your threats. No more will we be your trembling vassals. Your chattels, ignorant and debased, may cower under your lash, but the North shall henceforth be free. In your very faces, here and now, we swear to bury beyond the hope of resurrection the paltry doughfaces through whose treachery you have so long ruled us."

Brave words! sincerely uttered, too, let us fondly hope. We accept them as a cheering indication that at last there is such a thing as NORTHERN BACKBONE. We trust it will be found to wax stronger under every trial, and neither break nor bend in that last struggle, not far distant, when the Free States must determine whether they will perish with the South or save themselves by severing the cords that bind them in unholy union with the Slave Power.

New York was represented by a set of doughfaces of the Fillmore-Silver-Gray stripe, one of whom, Mr. Lyons, begged the honour of presenting to the Convention the platform constructed by a Virginia slave-driver and adopted by the Committee, 17 to 14! The Northern minority offered as an ultimatum the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an infraction of the plighted faith of the Nation, and that it should be restored; and if efforts to that end shall fail, Congress should refuse to admit any State tolerating slavery, which should be formed out of any portion of the Territory from which that institution was excluded by that Compromise."

After a fierce debate, this resolution, which was moved as a substitute for the one proposed by the majority of the committee, was rejected, 51 yeas to 92 nays. The pro-slavery plank was then adopted, yeas 80, nays 59. A majority of the delegates from every free State except New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, then withdrew. The Southern representatives, with the few Northern doughfaces, subsequently agreed upon the following as the

NATIONAL KNOW-NOTHING PLATFORM.

I. The acknowledgment of that Almighty Being who rules over the universe—who presides over the councils of nations—who conducts the affairs of men, and who, in every step by which we have advanced to the character of an independent nation, has distinguished us by some token of Providential agency.

II. The cultivation and development of a sentiment of profoundly intense American feeling; of passionate attachment to our country, its history and its institutions; of admiration for the purer days of our national existence; of veneration for the heroism that precipitated our revolution; and of emulation of the virtue, wisdom and patriotism that framed our Constitution and first successfully applied its provisions.

III. The maintenance of the union of these United States as the paramount political good; or, to use the language of Washington, "the primary object of patriotic desire." And hence:

1. Opposition to all attempts to weaken or subvert it.
2. Uncompromising antagonism to every principle of policy that endangers it.
3. The advocacy of an equitable adjustment of all political differences which threaten its integrity or perpetuity.
4. The suppression of all tendencies to political division founded on "geographical discriminations," or on the belief that "there is a real difference of interests and views" between the various sections of the Union.
5. The recognition of the rights of the several States as expressed and reserved in the Constitution, and a careful avoidance by the General Government of all interference with their rights by legislative or executive action.

IV. Obedience to the Constitution of the United States as the supreme law of the land, sacredly obligatory upon all its parts and members, and steadfast resistance to the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. Avowing that in all doubtful or disputed points it may only be legally ascertained and expounded by the judicial power of the United States. And as a corollary to the above:

1. A habit of reverential obedience to the laws, whether National, State, or Municipal, until they are either repealed or declared unconstitutional by the proper authority.
2. A tender and sacred regard for those acts of statesmanship which are to be contra-distinguished from acts of ordinary legislation by the fact of their being of the nature of compacts and agreements; and so to be considered a fixed and settled national policy.

V. A radical revision and modification of the laws regulating immigration and the settlement of immigrants. Offering to the honest immigrant, who, from love of liberty or hatred of oppression, seeks an asylum in the United States, a friendly reception and protection. But unqualifiedly condemning the transmission to our shores of felons and paupers.

VI. The essential modification of the naturalization laws. The repeal by the Legislatures of the respective States of all State laws allowing foreigners not naturalized to vote. The repeal, without retroactive operation, of all acts of Congress making grants of land to unnaturalized foreigners, and allowing them to vote in the Territories.

VII. Hostility to the corrupt means by which the leaders of party have hitherto forced upon us our rulers and our political creeds. Implacable enmity against the present demoralizing system of rewards for political subserviency, and of punishment for political independence. Disgust for the wild hunt after office which characterizes the age. These on the one hand. On the other—Imitation of the practice of the purer days of the republic; and admiration of the maxim that "office should seek the man, and not man the office," and of the rule that the just mode of ascertaining fitness for office is the capability, the faithfulness and the honesty of the incumbent or candidate.

VIII. Resistance to the aggressive policy and corrupting tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church in our country, by the advancement to all political stations—executive, legislative, judicial or diplomatic—of those only who do not hold civil allegiance, directly or indirectly, to any foreign power, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and who are Americans by birth, education and training—thus fulfilling the maxim, "AMERICANS ONLY SHALL GOVERN AMERICA." The protection of all citizens in the legal and proper exercise of their civil and religious rights and privileges; the maintenance of the right of every man to the full, unrestrained and peaceful enjoyment of his own religious opinions and worship, and a jealous resistance of all attempts by any sect, denomination or church to obtain an ascendancy over any other in the State, by means of any special privileges or exemption, by any political combination of its members, or by a division of their civil allegiance with any foreign power, potentate or ecclesiastic.

IX. The reformation of the character of our National Legislature, by elevating to that dignified and responsible position men of higher qualifications, purer morals, and more unselfish patriotism.

X. The restriction of executive patronage—especially in the matter of appointments to office—so far as it may be permitted by the Constitution, and consistent with the public good.

XI. The education of the youth of our country in schools provided by the State; which schools shall be common to all, without distinction of creed or party, and free from any influence or direction of a denominational or partisan character. And inasmuch as Christianity, by the constitutions of nearly all the States, by the decisions of most eminent judicial authorities, and by the consent of the people of America, is considered an element of our political system, and as the Holy Bible is at once the source of Christianity, and the depository and fountain of all civil and religious freedom, we oppose every attempt to exclude it from the schools thus established in the States.

XII. The American party, having arisen on the ruins and in spite of the opposition of the Whig and Democratic parties, cannot be held in any manner responsible for the obnoxious acts or violated pledges of either; and the systematic agitation of the slavery question by those parties having elevated sectional hostility into a positive element of political power, and brought our institutions into peril; it has therefore become the imperative duty of the American party to interpose, for the purpose of giving peace to the country, and perpetuity to the Union; and as experience has shown it impossible to reconcile opinions so extreme as those which separate the disputants, and as there can be no dishonour in submitting to the laws, the National Council has deemed it the best guarantee of common justice, and of future peace, to abide by and maintain the existing laws upon the subject of slavery as a final and conclusive settlement of that subject, in spirit and in substance.

And regarding it the highest duty to avow their opinions upon a subject so important in distinct and unequivocal terms, it is hereby declared as the sense of this National Council that Congress possesses no power under the Constitution to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the States where it does or may exist, or to exclude any State from admission into the Union because its Constitution does or does not recognise the institution of slavery as a part of its social system; and expressly pretermitting any expression of opinion upon the power of Congress to establish or prohibit slavery in any Territory, it is the sense of the National Council that Congress ought not to legislate upon the subject of slavery within the Territory of the United States, and that any interference of Congress with slavery as it exists in the District of Columbia would be a violation of the spirit and intention of the compact by which the State of Maryland ceded the district to the United States, and a breach of the national faith.

XIII. The policy of the United States, in its relations with foreign governments, is to exact justice from the strongest, and to do justice to the weakest; restraining by all the government all its citizens from interference with the internal concerns of nations with whom we are at peace.

XIV. This National Council declares that all the principles of the Order shall be henceforth everywhere openly avowed; and that each member shall be at liberty to make known the existence of the Order, and the fact that he himself is a member; and it recommends that there be no concealment of the places of meeting of subordinate Councils.

E. B. BARTLETT, of Ky., Pres. National Council.
O. D. DISHLER, of N. J., Cor. Sec'y.
JAS. M. STEPHENS, of Md., Rec. Sec'y.

The question upon the adoption of the pro-slavery plank of the above platform was taken on Wednesday ight, the 13th inst. Next morning the Northern delegates assembled at the Girard House, and, having appointed Hon. HENRY WILSON as Chairman and H. M. MCABEE, of Ohio, as Secretary, they determined to appeal from the Council to the People in behalf of right principles. They adopted the following as their platform:

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

To the People of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of various States, assembled at Philadelphia, on the 14th day of June, 1855, feel constrained, under the existing state of affairs, to affirm the following principles:

First—The unconditional restoration of that time-honoured Compromise, known as the Missouri Prohibition, which was destroyed in utter disregard of the popular will—a wrong which no lapse of time can palliate, and no plea for its continuance can justify. And that we will use all constitutional means to maintain the positive guarantee of that compact, until the object for which it was enacted has been consummated by the admission of Kansas and Nebraska as Free States.

Second—That the rights of the settlers in Territories to the free and undisturbed exercise of the elective franchise, guaranteed to them by the laws under which they are organized, should be promptly protected by the National Executive, wherever violated or threatened. And that we cannot conscientiously act with those who will not aid us in the correction of these National wrongs, and who will not even permit their fair consideration and their full discussion.

Third—We further declare our continued and unalterable determination to use all honourable efforts to secure such a modification of the Naturalization laws, aided by such an elevation of public sentiment as will preserve the true interest of the Nation, and will guarantee the three vital principles of a Republican Government: SPIRITUAL FREEDOM, A FREE BIBLE and FREE SCHOOLS—thereby promoting the great work of Americanizing America.

Fourth—That we invoke the arm of legislation to arrest that growing evil, the deportation, by foreign authorities, of paupers and convicts to our shores; and that, as our National Constitution requires the Chief Executive of our country to be of native birth, we deem it equally necessary and important that our Diplomatic Representatives abroad should also possess no foreign prejudices to bias their judgment or influence their official action.

Massachusetts.
HENRY J. GARDNER, A. C. CAREY,
HENRY WILSON, H. W. RUGG,
J. W. FOSTER, JAMES BUFFINGTON,
ANDREW A. RICHMOND.
New Hampshire.
ANTHONY COLBY, JESSE MANN,
STEPHEN B. SHERMAN.
Vermont.
RYLAND FLETCHER, R. M. GUILFORD,
EVELYN PIERPOINT, JO. D. HATCH,
JOSEPH H. BARRETT, HORACE KINGS

delegates to the Philadelphia Convention who stood up in defence of Northern rights, preferring to abandon their associates rather than their principles, it is only fitting that special honour should be paid to HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts; and we make this statement with the more satisfaction because on one or two previous occasions we have not been able altogether to approve his course. The antecedents of Mr. Wilson naturally made him the particular object of hostility to the slave-drivers in the Convention; indeed, that miserable creature, Vespasian Ellis, of Washington, had proposed beforehand that Mr. Wilson (he was warmly sustained by the delegates from New York) should be refused a seat; and one of the earliest displays after the body was organized was a grossly personal attack upon him by a delegate from Virginia. But the assailants had now met an antagonist who was not to be cowed or silenced, and the response they received was of a character to induce them not to repeat their experiment. We have the unanimous testimony of many Northern members of the Convention to the signal gallantry and effect of Mr. Wilson's bearing, and to the bold, virile and telling eloquence of his speeches."

The Boston *Atlas*, heretofore the strong opponent of Mr. Wilson, utters itself respecting him and his associates in the following words:

"We are much obliged to Mr. Wilson, to Gov. Gardner, and to those with whom they acted, for saving the American race from the contempt of the world. They may not value our thanks, but we freely and frankly tender them, and esteem it a privilege to do so. For the first time in the history of National Conventions, the North has maintained the perpendicularity of its spinal column. Two or three of the lower vertebræ proved gristle and not bone, but that must not detract from the merited honour of the remainder. After finding fault with the Know-Nothings so long, it is refreshing to have something to praise. We do not care for motives—we do not mean to pry into policy—we accept, with infinite content, the refreshing fact that one great battle has been fought in which the North has not shown a cowardly and traitorous spirit. Yet we do not think that the rejection of the platform of abominations deserves the largest credit, for to have accepted it would have been an idiotic *felo de se*. We honour the Northern delegation, not for spitting upon the great wrong, but for lavishing equal contempt upon little ones. For the first time, intrigue, blandishment and denunciation have failed. It is true, the charmer did not charm very wisely; but then she has heretofore been very successful when quite as little skillful. Now, however, there has been no crouching, no concession, no compromise. The skies are clearer, and the atmosphere sweeter to-day for the manliness of the Northern Know-Nothings, and we who have denounced their oaths, ridiculed their mummeries and refuted their arguments, are not ashamed to thank them here and now for the service."

The pro-slavery Know-Nothings of this city were called together in the Park, on Monday evening, to ratify the proceedings at Philadelphia. J. W. Barker presided. The audience was large, but composed, to a great extent, of unsympathizing spectators. All the means usually relied upon to create enthusiasm in such a crowd were plied in vain. Of the eighteen or twenty speakers on the occasion, *thirteen*, at least, were from the South! They were Neil S. Brown, Ex-Governor of Tennesse; Mr. Bartlett, of Ky.; A. J. Donelson, of Tenn.; Judge Hopkins, of Ala.; Mr. Cunningham, of South Carolina; Mr. Burwell, of Va.; Gen. Pilcher, of Ky.; Col. McCall, of Florida; Mr. Wilmot, of Md.; F. P. Stanton, of Tenn.; Mr. Houghton, of N. C.; Mr. Stokes, of Tenn.; Mr. Pollock, of Md. The New Yorkers who spoke (and we believe no other free State was represented) were men of no sort of weight, morally or politically. It was fitting that the men employed to force the Southern Know-Nothing platform upon the people of New York should come from the plantation.

Efforts are now to be made, we understand, to unite the Free States upon the simple issue of the Restoration of the Missouri Compromise. Of these efforts we have no room to speak at present. The issue, in itself considered, is a barren one, but a victory over the Slave Power on *any* question will be better than nothing.

THE KNOW-SOMETHINGS.

We have seen, of late, frequent notices in the papers of an organization called "Know-Somethings," said to have been formed by men who have seceded from the "Know-Nothings" on account of the pro-slavery proclivities of the latter. It seems that this new political order was holding its National Convention in Cleveland at the very time when the Philadelphia Council was breaking asunder. The following platform was adopted, and arrangements were made to unite in the next Presidential canvass with the seceders from the Philadelphia Know-Nothing Council.

NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE KNOW-SOMETHINGS.

Adopted at Cleveland, June 14, 1855.

As servility to the Slave Power characterizes the national organizations of the existing political parties, and as this servility is perilous both to the manhood of the North and the Liberty of the Republic, we declare—

First—That the issue before the American people is, whether Freedom shall be limited to the free States or whether slavery shall be limited to the slave States.

Second—That this issue has been forced upon the country by the Slave Power, through repeated aggressions, and by acts which have violated national faith, solemn compacts and sacred covenants.

Third—That these aggressions, especially the Nebraska outrage, with the brutal assault upon the elective franchise in Kansas, have aroused the freemen of the Republic to a just sense of their duty and their danger; and though they will invade no right of any State, they will maintain *every right of Freedom*, and resist the *admission of another slave State or the addition of another foot of slave soil.*

Fourth—That we shall meet this issue, thus forced upon us, in the spirit our fathers met the issue of their day; and, believing, as they believed, that, rightfully, man can hold no property in man, we will maintain the nationality of Freedom.

Fifth—That, Freedom being one in aim and end, the world over, the friends of Freedom in this Republic should make principles and character, not birthplace, the test of admission to citizenship and its constitutional rights. And we further declare,

Sixth—That, the right to worship God according to the dictates of individual conscience being inviolable, we will labour to strengthen this great immunity through wise State laws; but we will repel every politico-ecclesiastical interference in political affairs, by potentate, pontiff or priest, or their abettors, as destructive alike of this right and our common liberty.

Seventh—That Intemperance being an evil, we recommend to the several States such action for the promotion of Temperance as will extend and establish that virtue.

Eighth—That Free Schools, Free Labour, the Improvement of Rivers and Harbours, an honest Republican official representation abroad, all measures that tend to elevate MAN, establish the material prosperity of the country, and give stability to the Union, shall receive our hearty support.

Ninth—That, to ensure practical success, we will strive to fill all offices with men of undoubted integrity and sobriety, of ability, and of nerve—to resist aggressions upon Right, come when, where, and in what shape, it may.

Tenth—That for these objects, vital alike to Humanity and the Republic, we are ready to unite with all men, under whatever name or organization, who will aid us in carrying into successful operation these great principles.

A GOOD PLATFORM.—A Democratic Convention, assembled, on the 6th inst., at Milledgeville, Ga., laid down a platform, of which this is a synopsis:

1. The Union—but the Union as secondary to the reserved rights of the States.
2. The total non-interference of Congress with slavery anywhere, in the States, in the Territories and in the District of Columbia.
3. The maintenance of the Fugitive Slave law just as it is, without amendment and without repeal.
4. The principles established by the Nebraska Kansas act, which are the rights of the people of Kansas to form a Republican Government, with or without slavery, whenever they please, and to come into the Union on an equal footing with the other States.
5. The resolution of the Georgia Legislature, that any opposition to these principles, by man or party, is an act of hostility to the people of the South.
6. Sympathy with the "friends of slavery in Kansas in their manly efforts to maintain the rights and interests of the whole Southern people" over "the paid adventurers and Jesuitical hordes of Northern Abolitionism."
7. Opposition to every party at the North which "does not come up fully and fairly" to the Southern standard, including the Know-Nothings.
8. Retaliatory measures against Massachusetts and Vermont, for "virtually repealing the Fugitive Slave law"; and,
9. The annexation of Cuba.

That is a platform to our liking. An open field is the greatest boon where everything is to be won in a fair fight. If the whole South would adopt these principles openly, and maintain them unflinchingly, we might hope to see the time when the North and the South would fairly try conclusions on this slavery question.

The Milledgeville Convention states clearly and positively what the South wants. Hitherto, her supremacy has been maintained by acting up to the doctrine here laid down, and applied to the exigencies of the moment; but she has carried her point, not by such direct declarations, but by compromises, which she has inveigled the North into making, and cheated her by accepting. Happy will the day be when all compromises are at an end, and the direct issue, as here presented, is forced upon the North. The slave is half a freeman when he believes no longer that his bonds are of silk, and knows they are of iron. If he is half a man, he will break them then, or perish in attempting it.

"No Union with Slaveholders" will not be the rallying-cry of the Anti-Slavery Society alone when the South shall openly proclaim that she will have no union except with vassals. The sooner that time comes, the better; and, therefore, we hope that the platform erected at Milledgeville will be openly avowed as the platform of the whole South.

POLITICS.

Hon. ISRAEL WASHBURN, JR., of Maine, a member of Congress, and heretofore an influential Whig, has written a letter to the Bangor *Journal*, avowing his purpose hereafter to act with the Republican party and to make the slavery question the paramount political issue until it shall be settled on right principles.

——A Republican Convention for the nomination of a ticket for State officers will be held in Wisconsin early in September. The prospect is favourable for a union of all the opponents of the present Administration upon the anti-Nebraska platform. The issue is far enough from being what it should be, but it is better than nothing.

——The Republican State Convention of Ohio is to be held in Columbus on the 13th of July. The Know-Nothing branch of the party are said to be in favour of Mr. Brinkerhoff for Governor, but the Republicans proper will endeavour to secure the nomination and election of Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

——The *New Orleans Picayune* complains bitterly of the Northern Know-Nothings for their opposition to slavery, and declares in plain terms that "so long as a consociation exists" between them and the Free Soilers, "though it be for the professed purpose of gaining a nominal ascendancy here and there—nay, until such a union be emphatically and authoritatively repudiated, whatever success the new party may have elsewhere—it may expect to fare in every one of the Southern States just as it has fared in Virginia."

——A Convention, to be composed of all those freemen of the State of Vermont who desire to coöperate in the State election of September next, and in the approaching Presidential election, in opposition to the pro-slavery policy of the present National Administration, and to the propagandists of slavery of every name in the Union, for the defence of freedom, and to protect the rights of the Free States, has been called, to meet at Burlington, on the 27th instant, to nominate State officers. The Whigs of the State have concluded, we understand, to abandon their old organization and go into a new one with the above objects in view.

——JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS has been chosen as one of the delegates from Ashtabula County to the Ohio State Republican Convention, to be held in Columbus, on the 13th of July. Senator Wade, heretofore a Whig, and personally not altogether friendly to Mr. Giddings, addressed the County Convention: "He declared his attachment to the Union, on just principles; but said that the Union was no protection to the man of the North. He was for peace and union with freedom, but for neither without it. He had gone with the Whigs, as long as he could. He now knew no party or organization but the Republican, and with that he would labour till victory was achieved."

——Dr. Gwin, having failed to secure a *majority* of the votes for United States Senator in the Legislature of California, has determined, notwithstanding, to claim the seat upon the pretence that a *plurality* was sufficient to effect a choice. The Constitution of the State declares, in general terms, that "a plurality of votes given at any election shall constitute a choice"; but this clause has been hitherto understood to apply exclusively to the elections for offices created by State authority. The Legislature of California, as soon as the State Constitution was framed, provided by law for the election of United States Senators, and declared that a majority was necessary to effect a choice. Under this law the Senators have thus far been chosen. Dr. Gwin's claim, preposterous as it is, may perhaps be allowed by the slaveholders, in order to secure another vote to their side in the Senate.

——The Legislature of New Hampshire, on the 13th inst., elected as United States Senators the Hon. JOHN BELL and the Hon. JOHN P. HALE; the first for the full term of six years, to succeed the late Hon. Moses Norris, and the latter for four years, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the late Hon. Charles G(ag) Atherton. Mr. Bell was formerly a Webster Whig, but he is said to have pledged himself in the strongest manner to oppose the schemes of the Slave Oligarchy. He is a lawyer of solid abilities and a good speaker. Of Mr. Hale we need not say a word, except that his reëlection to the Senate is one of the most remarkable triumphs ever achieved in the history of American politics. The circumstances attending his first election in 1846, and the successive steps of the revolution which resulted in his defeat six years afterwards, are familiar to all our readers. The triumphant shouts of the "lords of the lash" over the election of Atherton have scarcely died away ere we are permitted to record the return to the Senate, by an overwhelming majority, in the face of the whole power and patronage of an unscrupulous Administration, of the faithful and fearless Hale, to fill the vacancy created by the death of that same doughface and traitor! This, we trust, will prove to be but the beginning of the retribution that awaits all those Northern politicians who bartered freedom and honour for the mean rewards of power and place. New Hampshire, thank God! is no longer to be ruled as the mere appendage of South Carolina—a Northern plantation under the sway of the Southern slave-drivers!

LETTER FROM HENRY GREW.

MESSRS. EDITORS: I have read with interest your statement of the proceedings of the New Anti-Slavery Convention. I hail with rejoicing all truthful and righteous efforts to expose and annihilate the iniquitous and inhuman system of American slavery. My ardent desire for its entire and eternal abolition induces me to regret the adoption of any unjust measures, on the part of the advocates of the slave, for the attainment of this very desirable object. I have no faith in the principle that a righteous end sanctifies unrighteous means. Such means are a practical sanction of the very principle of unrighteousness we condemn in those whom we oppose, and must be effective in retarding rather than in promoting the excellent end we would accomplish.

While I do most cordially agree with my Abolition brethren in the assurance that the cold apathy and mean and inhuman apology of the majority of the American professedly Christian Church, relative to this subject, demands faithful rebuke and decided condemnation—while I consider that the withholding of a testimony (required by every principle of our holy religion of love) which would have shaken the nation from its centre to its circumference, and shaken slavery out of it, has justly constituted the majority of the said Church "the bulwark of American slavery"—I must enter my humble, but decided, protest against some sentiments occasionally avowed in resolutions offered and adopted on this subject.

As a specimen of the class of remarks to which I refer, the fourth resolution, reported by the Business Committee, at the recent Convention in Boston, may be considered. The resolution refers to what is said to be "an extensive revival of religion going on in Boston," which is unqualifiedly, in toto, "denounced as an imposture," and "only a device of time-serving hirelings, to withdraw attention from the reforms of the age and especially from the anti-slavery movement."

Admitting, as I freely do, much human imperfection attending revivals of religion, and that *some* "time-serving hirelings" may be formally engaged in their promotion, I cannot but consider such wholesale denouncements as anti-slavery run mad.

For more than half a century, I have witnessed the operations and results, more or less, of what are termed revivals of religion, and have humbly endeavoured to test them by the standard given by "The Faithful Witness" of the Truth: "By their fruits ye shall know them." I have, indeed, seen that "when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, Satan came also among them." I have seen animal and selfish excitement substituted for godly sorrow for sin and holy joy. I have seen hypocrisy and false profession and those who appeared to run well for a time returning to the beggarly elements of a carnal world. But, blessed be God, as fruits of these revivals, I have seen the profane man fear an oath, the drunkard become sober, the covetous benevolent, the licentious pure, the selfish generous, and the man who utterly disregarded the claims of his God and his fellow-men practically acknowledging his obligations to both. God's word, although proclaimed by imperfect men, has not returned void. It has accomplished this gracious purpose in the holy renovation of fallen and depraved [illegible]. It has been the wisdom of God and the power of God in the salvation of millions of perishing men who have had their "fruit unto holiness and (their) end everlasting life."

In faithful love, then, I say to my anti-slavery brethren, Beware! Beware, "lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." Let your zeal be according to knowledge. Angels and men have recognised the hand of Almighty love in revivals of religion and all their imperfection. Discriminate between the precious and the vile. Pluck up the tares if you can, but beware how ye handle God's wheat. Condemn the man and the church which lifts not up the voice of seven thunders against Oppression, for this delinquency, and for sanctioning the accursed system of American slavery, by fellowshipping in sacred things the man who pretends to worship his God while he robs his brother! Nevertheless, remember that our gracious Father in Heaven, notwithstanding the hypocrisy of sinners and the imperfections of saints, will bear and answer the prayer of faith, "O Lord, revive thy work in the midst of the years," by turning dying men from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

Let no man diminish the importance of the anti-slavery enterprise. It is an enterprise of righteousness and love. Let no man so magnify it as to disregard the considerations essential to the highest and most enduring interests of the human race. Some persons appear to me to view it as Aaron's rod, which swallowed up all the others. A comprehensive view of man's high interests may teach us that something more is needful than the abolition of the outrageous system of slavery. Man needs to be delivered from the slavery and condemnation of sin in general. Glorious as would be the sound of the Jubilee trump which should "proclaim Liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof," without those divine influences accompanying the proclamation of "the glorious Gospel of the blessed God," which have produced revivals of religion in the land, the Emancipators and Emancipated would go to perdition together.

All of which is respectfully submitted by your fellow-labourer for human weal, HENRY GREW.

Philadelphia, June 11th, 1855.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, June 18, 1855.

MESSRS. EDITORS: Since I wrote you last, two weeks ago, the only stirring event which has broken in upon the monotony of city life with us, when June is present, is the meeting of the National Convention of the *Native* or *American*, alias *Know-Nothing*, party, for the purpose of erecting their political "platform." This, you are aware, has been an annual task with each and every party calling itself *National* for some years past, and, as the timbers are very perishable, or so badly adjusted as to tumble to pieces within a year, it becomes necessary to incur all the expense and trouble of erecting a new platform for each successive election, or several new ones adapted to various degrees of latitude, since Northern-grown timber has of late been less flexible, and there is fear that, in attempting to *bend* it to the desired shape and form which the sinuosities of most of the platforms present, it might, by possibility, *break*. In the present instance, it was found that the various and incongruous materials of the platform refused to unite. They could not be bent into form nor made to cohere by any lever power which hope of office and prospective patronage and emolument could apply; nor could they be softened by *steaming* with the vapours of "devotion to the Union"—love of our country—submission to our "glorious Constitution,"! and similar ingredients heated by sham patriotism to the boiling point. All would not do—it was toiling in vain; and after the mountain had been in labour for many days, it brought forth, not two *mice*, but two "platforms"—one for the North and another for the South—one for freedom, the other for slavery; the majority, as usual, sustaining the latter. The *North American*, in a lengthy leader of the true "Union Saving" stamp, recommended "concession and compromise" on the part of delegates from both North and South, when the editors ought to have known that the Slave Power never makes any concession except with the purpose of resuming what it has conceded at the earliest moment practicable. They effectually nullified, by such a recommendation, all their professed opposition to the Nebraska fraud and Kansas outrages for the purpose of extending slavery. It would have been strange indeed if, with such men as Henry Wilson, and others of the same stamp, in their Council or Convention, they could have smothered the slavery question—the only issue before the country which possesses a single dime's worth of importance, either present or prospective, to the people in their collective or national character. Whilst we have the image of Baal set up in the whole South, as well as in numberless chapels and high places at the North, there is but little cause for fearing the influence of any foreign Hierarch or the introduction of other images or symbols for our idolators to bow down to. The one great abomination is sufficient to exclude all lesser competitors for place or favour where it has established itself and reigns triumphant. Meeting with a citizen of Tennessee, a few days ago, he opened the subject of the pending consultation in the *American Council* by expressing the hope that they would agree upon a "platform" so as to consolidate the party and give it a *National* character. I could not avoid an expression of doubt as to its practicability, since the Northern and Eastern delegates dare not face their constituents with any further compromises upon the subject of slavery. His reply was as cool and decided as any autocrat could have given; "that is a question with which they have nothing to do, and in which they have no right to interfere, further than to comply with the requisitions of the Constitution in restoring the *property* of persons living in the Southern States." I gave him to understand that the feeling was becoming very general in *our* region that, although possessed of a dark skin, "a man's a *man* for a' that," and, by consequence, not "property," but possessed of certain "inalienable rights," unless our great "national platform," the Declaration of Independence, was next to be declared a *great lie*. This issue he evaded, but branched forth on the blessings which slavery had conferred upon the African, by translating him from the savage condition and cannibalism of his native heathen state into the light of civilization and Christianity!! Was not this enough to silence opposition to the beneficent institution? Nevertheless, I had the perversity to doubt his conclusions and to state that, according to Lander and other travellers in Africa, the worst part of its population were those who had associated most with *white* people who were citizens of professedly *Christian* countries. He tacked again, and argued that the condition of the slave was but little removed from that of the labouring population of all countries, and that, even in our own State of Pennsylvania, I must be sensible that the working portion of the community were *owned* in a manner by the capitalist and subject to his will. Here, again, I had to demur, by stating that I was too closely allied to the labouring class to permit any such aspersions to be cast upon them without contradiction, and evidenced the free and independent character of our whole working population as proof of the falsity of his position. There we parted—I to my daily avocation—he, probably, to address our native citizens upon the "danger to the Union" in breathing a single aspiration in behalf of freedom, for you will observe that the speakers at the mass meeting of the party in Independence Square, on Saturday evening, were mostly from the slave States. Ex-Governor Brown, of Tennessee, had the hardihood to call upon the audience for a perfect immunity for slavery for all offences, past, present and prospective, but his sentiments appeared to cool their political ardour nearly as effectually as the drenching rain which had commenced falling did their persons. Had any man gone into Tennessee and expressed himself with half the virulence against the slaveholders as Governor Brown gave vent to against the Abolitionists, his life would most probably have paid the forfeit of his temerity, yet, here, in Independence Square!! he has the unblushing impudence to tell our citizens "that all who recklessly agitate the country by renewing the slavery question deserve to be baptized in the lake of fire," and to hurl his anathemas against the Abolitionists in the bitterest terms, without one word of denunciation of the Missouri ruffians who are engaged in forcing slavery into Kansas. Why such foul-mouthed demagogues as Brown are permitted to appear before a Philadelphia audience must be in part owing to the fact of there being so great a number of *slaveholders* resident among us. Inquire who lives in that splendid mansion on Chesnut street; the reply is, Mr. ——, a wealthy Louisiana proprietor. Whose splendid equipage is that? It belongs to Mr. S., who has large possessions and hundreds of slaves in the Island of Cuba. What is the name of the lady you spoke to at church? She is Mrs. B., whose estate and negroes in South Carolina support her in a princely style here. And so it goes through the whole chapter. Slavery is ever present with us, in the persons of the slave-owners, as well as in the desire of our merchants, tradesmen and others to secure Southern trade and custom.

For items of local news, I have mostly preferred to leave you to gather them from that store-house of varieties, the daily press, but may remark, *en passant*, that we have been favoured, within the past ten days, with such frequent and copious showers of rain that the heretofore thirsty earth is completely saturated, and the husbandman is ready to cry out "hold; enough." The next complaints that we may prepare to hear will probably be apprehensions of danger to the growing or ripening crops from excess of rain. We are as ill to suit with *weather* as Bally Jarvie declared Highlanders to be with the weaving of their *trews*.

Our Coal-carrying Companies are doing a larger business than in any prior year, so early in the season, from which we might be led to infer that, in all the departments of business wherein coal is consumed, an unusual degree of activity must prevail; yet we are assured that such is not the case. Whence this active demand arises is, therefore, difficult to account for, at a period of financial pressure such as we have just passed through. It must be that our monetary embarrassments were exaggerated and can scarcely be feared any longer, or that buyers of coal, fearing an advance in prices towards the close of the season, as was the case last year, are anxious to secure their supplies early, in which event coal will probably be lower in the Fall than it has been during the Spring months.

The health of our city is good, and all, excepting the "Second Adventists," are looking hopefully for "better times," without having to leave this earth and ascend to some other sphere to secure the boon. These followers of Father Miller continue to fix a day for their ascension and to startle the unbelieving multitude with notices, painted on board fences and other conspicuous places, where "he who runs may read" the solemn charge, "Prepare to meet thy God." Well, it is very proper that *all* should prepare for an event which all profess to believe will occur *some* time, though they may differ widely as to the period, as, from the conduct of some professing Christians, both clergy and laymen, to say nothing of politicians and outsiders in general, we might be led to infer that such an event was not expected to occur for several millions of years to come, during which time the record of their hypocrisy and their crimes would be obliterated or consumed, and they be permitted to enter Paradise by endorsing each other's piety and orthodoxy. NEMO.

P. S. The *rum* party, of which the *Sunday Despatch* may be considered the organ or mouth-piece, is quite elated at the report of the result of the Portland riots, and heaps upon the temperance cause in general, and upon Neal Dow in particular, every form of falsehood and vituperation. They have also been much comforted by the "whiskey and lager" demonstrations in Berks and Lancaster Counties, in which General George M. Kiem and of Glancy Jones, the Nebraska member of Congress from the former County, displayed their eloquence, as their hearers did their beverage, in denunciations of the late law "repealing all laws relative to said intoxicating drink as a beverage," and to be drank upon the premises." Really, certain would-be-great men suffer their ambition to run very low when they descend to pander to the vile appetite of the drunkard and the baser selfishness of the drunkard-maker for their suffrages and support. There are, however, moral and immoral affinities, as well as chemical attractions, and "a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind."

GOV. REEDER has gone back to Kansas to meet the Legislature, which will assemble in July. The President, it is said, is seeking occasion for removing him, in order to fill his place with some tool of Atchison and Stringfellow; and for this reason he is giving heed to reports which implicate him in certain illegal land speculations in Kansas. It would be no matter for surprise if the Governor had compromised himself in the manner alleged, as in doing so he would only be following the example of nearly every other United States official in similar circumstances; but the pretence on the part of President Pierce that he feels constrained to menace him with removal on that account is too Pecksniffian to awaken any other emotion than contempt. He will be removed, if at all, only because he refuses to be the tool of the Missouri slave-drivers and marauders.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.—We invite attention to the prospectus of this work in another column, and especially to the commendatory letters of Judge Story, Chancellor Kent and John Quincy Adams. Such testimonials render superfluous all ordinary commendation, and therefore we will only say, that, in the eleven years which have elapsed since those distinguished men—now all departed—gave utterance to their opinions, the *Living Age*, so far from deteriorating, has been greatly improved by its enterprising editor and publisher. If those young men who annually spend from three to five times the cost of such a periodical for cigars, or some other equally pernicious purpose, could only be persuaded to pay for and read this work—one of the very best of all our literary periodicals—they would do much to promote their own mental and moral improvement and thereby fit themselves for happiness and usefulness in all the relations of life.

Summary.

THEODORE PARKER'S SPEECH, delivered at the late Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, has been copied in the *Ripon Herald*, Fond du Lac County, Wisconsin.

A line from Elder G. H. Simpson, of Ambersburgh, C. W., informs us that the arrivals of fugitives at present are very numerous. He states that "on the 5th inst. one hundred came over." This kind of emigration, we think, is destined greatly to increase for some years to come.—*Amer. Baptist.*

The two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church—both the Old and New School bodies—have resolved to meet in the city of New York, in May of next year—the Old School in Dr. Phillips's Church, and the New School in the Church of the Rev. Dr. Adams, on Madison square.

Pennsylvania now produces as much iron as was manufactured in all Great Britain thirty years ago; as much as the present manufacture in France; more than Russia and Sweden united; and more than that of all Germany.

ELMIRA FEMALE COLLEGE.—We learn from the Elmira *Republican* that this grand institution will be completed early in the coming October. It is a novel experiment, without a precedent in the Union. It will stand, in relation to the best existing female seminaries, the same as colleges in their relation to the higher schools and academies, one step in advance.

A HOME THRUST.—A preacher took passage on one of the Lake Erie steamers, on a Sunday lately, and, before he had been long on board, he applied to the captain for leave to hold a religious meeting. The captain replied, "No—for each minister who would travel on Sunday is not fit to preach on board my boat."

ANOTHER DEGREE NEEDED.—Somebody suggests that the American party, to render it perfect, needs a fourth degree, under which members shall pledge themselves not to seek office. The Boston *Atlas* is of the opinion there would not be much knocking at *that* door. Such a principle, incorporated in any party creed, would soon decimate the ranks of the party.

APPOINTMENT.—We understand that Miss Harriet C. Woodman, daughter of Jabez C. Woodman, Esq., of Portland, Me., has been elected Professor of Mathematics in the Female College at Elmira, New York. Miss Woodman, we hear from the best authority, is distinguished as a scholar in various branches, but especially in Mathematics and Languages. The *State of Maine* says that she is unquestionably the daughter of her father on the Mathematics side.

THE EDMONSONS.—Our readers have not forgotten the "Hard Case" of the Edmonson girls, redeemed slaves, who had succeeded in raising money enough to redeem a brother from slavery, when they were swindled out of $350 of it. Miss Edmonson is now in the city and has raised all but $100 of the sum that was lost. If any one desires to assist in the good work, remittance can be made to Mr. H. C. Bowen, or Mr. J. E. Williams, of the Metropolitan Bank. Promptness in this case is very desirable.—*Times.*

HON. CHARLES SUMNER.—This distinguished United States Senator, from Massachusetts, was a passenger on the Frankfort train last evening. He has been several days in the interior of Kentucky, and intends extending his journey to the Mammoth Cave. There are few men so ultra upon the slave question, but that in nowise detracts from Mr. Sumner's accomplishments as a gentleman and his eloquent and scholarly attainments in literature and statesmanship.—*Louisville (Ky.) Courier, 14th.*

GOOD ADVICE.—There is no country in the world where the people are so addicted to the medicine eating propensity as the United States. It has grown to be a perfect mania—a disease of itself. The fact is, nature never designed the human body to be such a receptacle of medicine. If men would but study the laws of nature, diet properly instead of excessively, be regular in their habits instead of regular in their doses, use common sense and cold water freely and the doctor as little as possible, they would live longer, suffer less, and pay little for the privilege.—*National Intelligencer.*

We have a fact from Boston which is a sort of a straw to show the course of the wind. It is stated that a religious book publishing house which has not pruned its works of anti-slavery sentiments is selling far more largely during the anniversaries of the present year than ever before. We understand, says the *Telegraph*, that this result is owing to the fact that the churches have withdrawn their patronage from a kindred society, which prohibits anti-slavery allusions in its works. We understand that, in our county, an association voted not to buy any more books at the publishing society. We suppose that the proscribed society is the doughface tract establishment.—*Syracuse Chronicle.*

REPEAL IT.—In the year 1848, an act was passed by our Legislature which contains the following section: "No Indian, negro or mulatto slave shall be brought or imported into the State, by sea or land, from any place whatever, TO BE DISPOSED OF, LEFT OR SOLD, within the same."

Under this section, Judge Williams has made a decision that a slaveholder *may* reside here temporarily with a slave, or pass through the State with him. The grounds of this decision were that the section *implies* that a slave-owner *may* bring a slave *not* "*to be disposed of, left or sold*," and in such case no law touches him. Let the section be amended so as to free any slave *brought here* by his owner in accordance with the decisions of Courts in other States. Who will see to this matter?—*Hartford Republican.*

The Methodists of Cincinnati are agitating the subject of a College for Coloured People, under the auspices of that denomination. The *Advocate* recommends its location to be as far south as the southern verge of Pennsylvania or Ohio, for the purpose of placing the coloured man as far as possible in the climate to which his constitution is adapted—not because kidnapping would be easier. The subject will come up in the General Conference. The establishment of separate literary institutions for coloured persons is wholly unnecessary. If the measure were feasible, its tendency would be to sanction rather than remove the prevailing prejudice against the coloured people. We are sorry that some of the coloured people themselves are disposed to countenance such schemes.

COLOURED SUFFRAGE.—The *Hartford Republican*, of the 15th, says: "We hear that there is a chance for another vote on the 'white' amendment in the House, when it comes back from the Senate. If so, we trust all the friends of this just and timely reform will unite in working heartily for its passage. If personal efforts can pass it, we beseech the anti-slavery members not to grudge any time spent in this manner. Let not Connecticut be disgraced by longer refusing coloured men the right of franchise. This is the *only* State in New England which retains the barbarous, proscriptive provision, and now for a Know-Nothing Legislature to defeat a measure initiated by a Whig one, for the benefit of these oppressed *natives*, would be one of the most disgraceful things which ever occurred in the State. That it would finish the Know-Nothing Party in Connecticut, we hope and believe."

Concerning the American Department of the French Exhibition, a Paris correspondent of the London *Daily News* writes thus:

"If an inquisitive visitor might put a question to the gentlemen who occupy a desk sentry box, placed in a court displaying only deal boards, and ticketed 'United States,' he would ask one of these eight American Commissioners whether or not it is their intention to exhibit anything beyond the stars and stripes floating above them, and their own persons strolling in this very remarkable court below. It seems to me that their space is intruded upon daily, as they despair of having anything to show. In the first place, Elkinton & Co. have got a slice of Yankee space; in the second place, France appears to have cut off a very important bit to exhibit the Bordeaux case. A sinister fate seems to hang over our good friends of the States whenever they meddle with Exhibitions."

A SLAVE BORN OF A WHITE WOMAN FREED BY A VIRGINIA COURT.—The Richmond *Enquirer*, of the 12th inst., gives the following account of a very interesting case which has been decided in the Botetourt Circuit Court:

"Eliza Crawford and five children, coloured, suing for their freedom. The case was decided in favour of the plaintiffs; the evidence being full and complete that the chief plaintiff, Eliza, was born of a white woman of Georgia. She is now about thirty-five years of age, and has been in slavery between fifteen and twenty years. Her appearance indicates that her father was a mixture of African and Indian. She is now the mother of six children, all of whom were plaintiff's, except the eldest, who never belonged to defendant, and who, it is said, will now be set at liberty without resistance. There was no evidence, however, to show that the defendant was in any way privy to, or accountable for, the injustice done the plaintiffs."

"THE TRAIL OF THE SERPENT."—Among some twenty inebriates who were arraigned in the Police Court in Boston, on Wednesday morning, was a young girl of fifteen years, whose rare beauty seemed strangely out of place in a criminal court. A year ago she was the pride and hope of her friends in Cambridge, and enjoyed the esteem of a large circle of acquaintances. An intimacy with a student at Harvard, a rich man's son, eventuated in her ruin. She was driven in disgrace from the paternal roof—an outcast. Where could she go? The haunts of vice and the grave were open to her. She hesitated. At fifteen the grave looks dark and forbidding—she entered a fashionable brothel, where she has since consorted with the lost and abandoned of her sex. This was her first appearance in the Police Court; there is a strong and painful presumption that it will not be her last. She evidently felt her degradation keenly. A light fine imposed upon her was kindly paid by a friend, and she was permitted to depart in peace. Who shall say that the outcast was less sinned against than sinning?—*Springfield (Mass.) Repub., June 8.*

ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF HORACE GREELEY.—We [illegible] from Paris that Mr. Chubby, the architect, was arrested, the 2d inst., at the suit of a sculptor named Lechesne, who made a complaint against him as one of the Directors of the Crystal Palace Association of this City. It seems that Lechesne had sent here a statue which he valued at 12,000 francs, and for this sum he brought a suit against Mr. Greeley.

He was arrested and taken before the proper Court at about 4 P. M. on Saturday afternoon, and there the parties agreed to take as bail for his appearance for trial Mr. Platt, the American Secretary of Legation. They then proceeded to the office of that gentleman, but when there the plaintiff suddenly refused to take him as bail, on the ground that his official station exempted him from arrest.

Other security was offered, but refused; Mr. John Munroe proposed to pay in the money as a guarantee; but this Mr. Greeley declined, preferring to go to jail. Accordingly he was conveyed to the Debtors' Prison of Clunchy, where he remained till Monday forenoon, when a trial was had, and the tribunal dismissed the complaint, and discharged the defendant. In this process Mr. Greeley enjoyed the advantage of two days' experience in jail, and Mr. Lechesne the profit of paying the costs.—*Tribune.*

IN BLACK AND WHITE.—The Rev. Amos G. Beman, of New Haven, challenges Mr. Joseph Maddox, of the House of Representatives, to publicly discuss with him the propriety of striking out of the qualifications of voters the item of *colour*—such discussion to take place in Hartford, during the present session of the Assembly—each party to select an umpire from the House or Senate, and the two umpires to select a third; and Mr. Beman offers to pay one-half of the expenses for the use of the Hall, &c. From what we have seen of the relative ability of the two gentlemen, we believe the Hon. member would come out second best.

In the House, Mr. Veazey introduced a resolution granting the use of the Hall to the Hon. Mr. Maddox and Reverend Mr. Beman, for the proposed discussion upon the qualifications of the coloured man to the rights of citizenship, and recommending the selection of Rev. Mr. Train, Rev. Mr. Coe, and Hon. Mr. Blackman, as umpires on that occasion.

Mr. Maddox (assuming the appearance of a *red man*) rose, (cries of "question, question") and thought it hardly necessary to put the question. The question was then taken and the resolution passed *unanimously*, amid the uproarious merriment of the members.—*Hartford Republican.*

THE CONVICTED SLAVER.—It will be recollected that, some time since, Captain Smith, of the brig Julia Moulton, was convicted, in this city, of having been engaged in the slave-trade of Africa. The penalty for this offence, under the law of the United States, is death. Recently, however, a new trial was ordered, on what grounds we are unable to state. This week it appears that the convicted party was allowed to plead guilty to the charge of having remained on board that brig voluntarily, while she was engaged as a slaver. This plea has been accepted by the court in lieu of a new trial; and although all the evidence on which the former conviction was obtained is still available, he is allowed to put in this plea for a crime the penalty of which is only imprisonment for two years. It seems hardly possible that such a result as this could be reached, without more authority than that which belongs to the court; and we cannot forbear serious apprehensions that there has been an understanding with higher powers that this convict shall thus go unwhipped of justice, and that the first conviction for the crime of slave-trading which has been had in our courts, for many years, shall be set at naught.—*N. Y. Observer.*

MORE FILLIBUSTERS.—We understand that a fillibustering party, having a new destination, is in progress of rapid organization in the South; this party purposes to go hence to Matamoras. Their particular field of operation is not known, but their design is said to be to take possession of some one of the Mexican States, to confiscate the lands and personal estate, and so to reimburse themselves for their "services in the cause of freedom." The expedition is under the command of a distinguished Southern gentleman, who has heretofore held several positions of trust. We have not heard of their organization elsewhere, but we are assured that three hundred men are ready to embark from this city. Sixty of that number left Louisville yesterday. The expeditionists are said to have the sympathy, and expect the support, of a strong party in Mexico. The expedition has so far been organized with the most absolute secrecy, as none of their movements have heretofore transpired. We are unable to inform our readers as to the precise object of the new fillibusters, but we think that the statements made above are reliable. Should the expedition succeed in reaching Matamoras, there is every probability of their being able to carry out their plans against the Mexican Government

Miscellaneous Department.

THE SERF MARRIAGE.

A group of girls were collected round the door of an isba, or log-hut, in the village of Gorky, belonging to General Petrovioff. They were all dressed in the national costume of the government of Toula, consisting of a long white gown, over which they wore a plaid worsted tunic, short and narrow, while a low bodice, with narrow shoulder-straps, confined a loose puffed white muslin chemise. Their hair was combed off the face in one long plait, from which hung a profusion of ribbons of all colours down their backs; a quantity of bright-coloured glass-beads hung on each side of their faces, and round their necks: these formed the more ornamental items of their dress, which was otherwise only completed by a very thick and serviceable pair of leathern shoes.

By the earnestness of their gestures, and the apparent interest of their conversation, it was easy to see something unpleasant had lately occurred. After a little time, they all dispersed except two, who remained at the door of the hut spinning, between whom the following conversation took place:

"Nadegda, dost thou really believe the master will oblige one of us girls to marry that ugly, ill-tempered fellow, Kit? What possible inducement is there? He possesses neither horse nor cow; his isba is in the worst condition of any in the village; and beside his own devilish propensities—that are only safely to be encountered when one makes the holy sign and prays to St. Sergius—he has his old witch of a grandmother, and his bedridden mother, for his wife to work and care for. No; most certainly not one of us girls will consent to have him."

"As to that, Katinka, thou sayest true; but from what I heard my father say yesterday, the master is determined none of the strong, hard-working lads are to be sent as soldiers; and, as thou well knowest, while single they are all liable to be taken as recruits."

"Tell me again," said the first speaker, "what said thy father. Unfortunately this news comes from good authority; who should know better than the sarosta * what is doing in the village?"

"I'll gladly tell thee all I know," replied the sarosta's daughter. "Last night, when my father came home, he told us that Borisoff, the land-steward, had received letters from our master, telling him that all the family are coming here immediately to spend a year. Owing to some severe losses sustained at cards, his excellency comes down to live quiet and economize. Several of the free servants have been discharged; and for fear any of the good hands should be taken by the recruiting-party, he has sent orders they shall all marry. Now, Peter the blacksmith is betrothed to Nadine, and they will be glad enough to get the wedding over. Paul has received the same orders; and I know more than one girl who would not refuse him. Eh, Katinka, why blushest thou?"

"Hold thy nonsense, Nadegda, and finish thy story: this is no joking matter."

"Well, the end is this, dusha mia (my soul). As to the other lads, they are well enough off to buy themselves wives from the crown villages; but who Kit will find I know not, for his reputation of casting the Evil Eye is well known hereabouts, and, besides, dreadful things are told of his family."

"For Heaven's sake, do not talk more about him," said Katinka, turning towards the church, and signing herself devoutly; "I shall dread going to sleep to-night for fear of bad dreams. But thou, happy Nadegda, thou hast no fear of being forced to marry against thy will: thy father, being the sarosta, will be able to screen thee; but what say I? Perhaps thou also levest one of the lads now about to marry. Confess—art thou also betrothed?"

"Oh, Katinka, think not of it: it would be no worse for me to marry Kit than any other lad in the village. I love—yes; but not one in my own station—a free man. Dost thou remember Vladimir, the master's handsome Moscow coachman? Well, he, God bless him! has promised to buy my freedom, and marry me." Before Nadegda had well done speaking, her companion burst into a fit of laughter.

"And art thou fool enough to believe him? Why did he not marry thee at once, instead of putting it off?"

"Because my master asked a high price for my freedom, more than Vladimir then possessed," answered Nadegda; "and also because my father could not then give me the dowry Vladimir required, for, remember, when I am his wife I shall no longer wear the village-dress. I am to have a fur cloak, two silk dresses, besides a feather-bed and linen. Father has saved up three hundred roubles in money for us"; and as the young girl spoke, she drew herself up with all the pride of a serf about to become free.

They had scarcely resumed their spinning-wheels, when the sound of post-bells in the distance reached their ears. Moujiks were seen running in all directions, crying, "Here comes the master!" and as the carriages approached nearer, they all uncovered their heads, and assisted to push the heavy equipages up the steep hill leading to the house; several girls standing near also bowed their heads to the ground, saying: "Welcome, father and master. Welcome, my mistresses, among your own people. May the Lord bless your high nobility!"

As the general descended, he bowed to all around, and extended his hand for those nearest him to kiss. The ladies stopped also to speak kindly to some of the women and children, and their hands were also covered with kisses. As they passed into the house, the peasants separated to their respective homes. Nadegda alone remained loitering about until late, but she had a companion who stopped to talk with her as he passed and repassed; nay, more, once was he actually seen to kiss her. Yes, the serf-girl was happy: Vladimir was true.

That evening Borisoff was closeted for some hours with the general; and when he left him, the expression of his face was somewhat discomposed and ruffled. The subject of their conference will be learned in the sequel.

Early the next morning, Borisoff sent for the sarosta, Nadegda's father, and, after giving him orders for the day's work, addressed him thus: "Sarosta, hast thou attended to the orders I gave thee respecting the young men's marriages, those named on his excellency's list? If not, see to it without loss of time, for thy master has had great losses, and needs all the good workmen; and, what is more, his temper is not improved under the circumstances, and the lads will be worked all the harder, I promise thee."

"Your honour will be pleased to hear," replied the old man, "that I have arranged that matter as well as possible. All the lads will be mated this week, except that surly fellow Kit, who, as your honour knows, is no favourite in the village, and not one of the wenches will consent to have him. Indeed, I pity the poor thing who would have to wait upon his old folks, who are no better than they should be, if all is true that one hears."

"As to that, sarosta, thou must arrange it as best thou canst; it is as much as my place is worth to tell the general his commands have not been obeyed. Remember, thou hast now received the order, and it rests entirely with thee. Hast thou held out any reward to the girls? Or, if that does not have the desired effect, hast thou promised them a flogging all round? See what that would do."

"I fear, your honour," resumed the sarosta, "it would be of no avail; for it is the belief of them all that Kit throws the Evil Eye, and even the little children run and hide from him as he comes up the village. However, I will certainly do my best."

On their return from work, the sarosta assembled all the girls, and tried in vain the powers of persuasion and threatenings. Kit was supposed to have something devilish about him; and as the sarosta himself shared in the superstition, he determined to lay the case before his master, although not without fear of the consequences.

The next morning, as the general sat in his elegantly furnished study, smoking a troupkat, the sarosta was announced. General Petrovioff ordered him to be admitted immediately. The old man entered, and, first turning to the picture hanging in the room, crossed himself devoutly, then bowed low to his master. The general returned the salutation, and then bade him make known his business.

"Your high nobility deigned to order, a day or two ago, that certain of your peasants were to marry, on account of the recruits being taken this summer. Your excellency's commands have been obeyed in all respects save one, for which I humbly beg pardon. Kit, as your excellency doubtless remembers, was always a strange surly fellow."

"But a good and steady workman," interrupted the master.

The sarosta proceeded: "None of the wenches relish the idea of being his wife; and, indeed, to be plain with your high nobility, they one and all refuse to have anything to do with him. Perhaps your excellency would be pleased to countermand the order, and let him join the recruiting-party. The whole village would rejoice to be rid of him."

"Old fool!" exclaimed the general, "dost thou think I am going to part with one of my best hands because you ignorant dogs think he is bewitched? Since when have the sluts dared to have a will of their own? It is high time, indeed, I come among you, to teach you your master's authority! Go, old dog; I'll see he gets a wife. The she-devils shall draw lots for him, and thy daughter into the bargain, to punish thee for thy disobedience; and think thyself well off that I send not for a bundle of rods for thee. Begone, dog, or I will strike thee to the earth!" So raved the general in his anger at being thwarted; the old sarosta, trembling and silent, bowed and left the room.

Borisoff, the land-steward, was next sent for, and ordered to collect, the next morning, all the girls above the age of eighteen. "And mind," added the general, "they are all forthcoming—the more the merrier. It will be quite an event in the village, drawing lots for a husband."

At the hour specified next day, all the maidens were to be seen slowly making their way to the house. The sarosta had hard work to make them advance, for they were all more or less terrified at the idea of Kit falling to their share. But none of them looked so pale as poor Nadegda; only the night before, everything had been settled for the purchase of her freedom. She really loved Vladimir, and was beloved by him. Occasionally, she raised her eyes to see if she could catch sight of him; but he, poor fellow, was not there; although free himself, he dared not dispute the rights of the slaveholder.

In vain did the sarosta expostulate, and try to console the poor girl, by telling her how many chances there were in her favour; but Nadegda seemed to be weighed down by a presentiment of evil, and cried bitterly: "Oh! why was I born? Oh! why did I not die before this hour of misery?"

As they approached, the general stepped out upon the balcony, followed by the wretched and unpopular Kit. No sooner did they perceive the latter than the girls began calling him every horrid name they could think of; all but Nadegda—she had fainted. They were placed in rows in front of the balcony, and Borisoff presented the general with a hat containing the fifty pieces of paper, amongst which was the one with the fatal cross marked on it. The general stood on the steps of the balcony, and, desiring that none should open her paper until the hat was emptied, the ceremony began. One by one, the trembling girls made the sign of the cross, then thrust in her hand and drew out a paper. All were taken, one only remained, and Nadegda alone was left to take it; she approached, faintly and feebly, supported by her father. But while in the act of extending her hand to draw the lot, her father began to speak.

"Silence!" thundered the general. "Unfold your papers."

As they did so, they screamed with delight: "It is not I!" "It is not I!" and threw themselves with their faces on the ground, to thank the saints for their protection. In the midst of this general rejoicing, a piercing shriek was heard which made them all shudder: it came from the unfortunate Nadegda. She had drawn the fatal cross—a cross which must be borne, as such was the will of her earthly master.

She threw herself at the general's feet, and in the most imploring accents besought him. "Father, have mercy upon me! Master, do with me what thou wilt; make me work night and day; put me in the meanest office; and I will not complain; but I cannot marry him!"—and she pointed to Kit. "Beat me, master; kill me, if you will, and I would thank you on my knees; but think of what you are doing. Remember, I am"—— Betrothed, she would have added; but the general roared out with rage:

"Take her away! take her away!" And turning to the sarosta: "Teach your daughter to behave herself in future, and not to have such high-flown ideas. Mind, I will have the wedding over by to-night." So saying, he turned away: the old man lifted up his fair daughter in his arms, and carried her away, without a word; he dared not remonstrate or revolt.

The same evening, Nadegda—heretofore the pride and beauty of the village, but now pale, cold, and automaton-like—was married to Kit, the general himself witnessing the ceremony. When it was over, he turned to the husband. "Well, my lad, if the girls would not have thee of their own freewill, thou mayest at least thank thy master for the prettiest lass in the whole village."

There was no merry-making at that wedding; the peasants returned to their homes with heavy and resentful hearts; but not one slept that night until they had implored the blessings of the saints on the unfortunate Nadegda.

That day-week, the general took a drive through his domains. The driver, as usual, was Vladimir, the Moscow coachman, a man so skilful in his business, so careful, so conscientious, that when the reins were in his hands such a thing as an accident was unknown. On that day, the disappointed bridegroom, it may be supposed, was not exactly as happy as when talking to poor Nadegda about their marriage. At any rate, it was noticed that he was deathly pale, and that his features had a hard, rigid, stony look: but perhaps this was fancy. It may be that his feelings were not the more agreeable from the sight of Kit's isba as he drove past, and from the pale woe-be-gone face in the interior that at the view flitted across his imagination like a spectre. Whether this spectre continued to haunt him during the drive, and to glide and float before the horses' heads so as to dazzle and mislead his vision, no man knows. The only thing that is certain is, that the carriage was upset, and the general, with some difficulty extricated from the shattered vehicle, mortally hurt. He survived only a few hours, and then he died in great agony.

Just before he breathed his last, he murmured: "He has cast the Evil Eye on me": but no one understood what he meant.*—*Chambers's Journal.*

* This narrative is stated by the writer to be true in every particular.

THE WAR IN THE EAST AND THE MEXICAN WAR COMPARED.

In his Annual Address before the American Peace Society, at its recent anniversary in Boston, Judge Jay, after exposing the utter futility of all the reasons alleged in justification of the War between Russia and the Allied Powers, and giving a faithful picture of the horrors of the campaign in the Crimea, makes, in the closing passages of the address, this severe and truthful comparison between this war and that of our own Government with Mexico:

I have already intimated that I should offer some remarks which would not probably be acceptable to all my hearers. I should be unworthy of the place with which I am honoured should I attempt to propitiate popular prejudices, either by exaggerating the faults of other nations or by shrinking from exposing those of my own. The sympathies of a common humanity and the obligations of a common religion require us, as far as we are able, to do good to all mankind by removing the evils which impair their welfare. British and American Christians are sending missionaries into the dark corners of the earth, to turn the inhabitants from the evil of their ways, and to prostrate in the dust their altars and their gods. Surely these Christians are equally bound to condemn and, if possible, to reform what is wrong in each other. Many of the worthies of England and Scotland, both men and women, have called our attention to the abominations in the midst of us. God bless them for their fidelity. Let us imitate their example, and urge on them the duty of putting a speedy end to an iniquitous war. It is equally true of nations as of individuals, that all have sinned. All human goodness is but comparative. Although politicians of a certain class may deem it expedient to vilify Great Britain, yet it remains an historical truth that, within the present century, no other nation has surpassed her in extending human freedom, and diffusing the light and blessings of Christianity. It is, indeed, one of the lamentable consequences of the war she is waging that its folly and injustice, together with the degrading alliance which seduced her from the path of honour and Christian consistency, all tend to weaken her moral influence, and thus to diminish her capacity for benefitting mankind by her influence and example. Let us beware, however, lest, while contemplating her present folly and guilt, we complacently thank God that we are wiser and better than she is. Let us rather confess and lament our own wickedness. Let us not illustrate the sinfulness of war by examples drawn only from the other side of the Atlantic. Let us not shrink from comparing our own conduct with that of Great Britain; and, should the comparison result in wounding our vanity and self-love, we may be assured that the infliction will prove most excellent surgery.

It must be admitted that the British Government drew the sword with reluctance. At least a whole year was spent in negotiation before a blow was struck. The whole subject was fully discussed both in Parliament and by the press; and the opponents of the war had full opportunity of assigning the reasons of their dissent. Very different was the course pursued by the American Government in regard to the Mexican war. After measures had been adroitly taken to render a collision between the troops of the two countries almost inevitable, the President, one morning, sent a message to Congress, informing them that the Mexicans had shed American blood on American soil. The fact was, as it afterward appeared, that a party of our soldiers, in a territory claimed and possessed by the Mexicans, had attacked a Mexican corps, and that, in the encounter, some of the assailants had been killed. In a few hours after the receipt of the message, without the slightest inquiry into the truth of the President's averment, without a particle of evidence that the Mexican Government had ordered, justified or even knew of the alleged offence, without even reading the official despatch from the army, and without permitting any debate, the House of Representatives passed a bill declaring that war existed by the act of Mexico. On the following day, the Senate concurred; and thus, in less than forty-eight hours, an act bearing falsehood on its face, and dooming thousands and tens of thousands to misery and death, was enrolled among the statutes of the United States with less deliberation and inquiry than a felon could be tried, convicted and sentenced in any of our courts.

As we have seen, the war waged by England is for an object in which she has no exclusive interest. She seeks no acquisition of territory, and asks no concessions to herself. Mexico was our neighbour, a sister Republic, and poor, distracted and feeble. She had territory we coveted, and had in vain attempted to buy. After our money had been rejected, like Ahab we killed and took possession. And for what did we covet this territory? Numerous were the avowals, on the floor of Congress and elsewhere, that the territory was wanted to enlarge the area of human bondage!

Our sympathy for the heart-rending sufferings of the British troops has not been chilled by reports of barbarities committed by them. The bombardment of a hospital is the only act of cruelty not sanctioned by the laws of war, with which they are charged; and even this is said to have occurred under the belief that the building was in fact a depôt of military stores. It should be recollected that the hospital in Vera Cruz was also shelled, and women and even infants horribly mangled. In neither case, have we reason to believe, was the catastrophe intended. But, unhappily for the reputation of our arms, the annals of our war with Mexico are stained with many atrocious crimes and massacres rarely, it is to be hoped, paralleled in modern warfare. This is not the place to enter into details; it is sufficient for the proof of my assertion to refer to the manly, honest and indignant rebuke of these enormities, in official papers of Generals Kearney and Taylor.

During the long peace enjoyed by Great Britain after the battle of Waterloo, vast progress was made in the extension of civil and religious liberty, and the reformation of ancient abuses. It is much to be feared that this progress will now be arrested by the habits of haughty command and submissive obedience required and engendered by war. Already have the Ministry announced that their promised extension of suffrage will be postponed on account of the existing hostilities. Did our Mexican war inspire us with new zeal in behalf of the great truth of the Declaration of Independence? Let the legislation of 1850 and 1854, in contempt of human rights and human happiness, answer the question.

In vain will the advocates of war attempt to prove it the friend and guardian of freedom. On the contrary, it is the instrument by which tyranny and oppression are ever established and maintained. Some few instances may indeed be found in which a resort to arms has resulted in a popular government. But, in most cases, liberty so acquired has not been permanent. In 1848, Europe was convulsed by military insurrections aiming at popular liberty. In every instance the conflict terminated in giving new energy to arbitrary power. Twice has a Republic been forcibly established in France; and twice have the people, wearied with anarchy, and the tyranny of demagogues, sought protection for life and property from an imperial despot.

The very profession of a soldier, even when temporarily assumed by the militia, is adverse to the spirit of liberty. Instant and unlimited obedience suspends, for the time, reason, and conscience, and humanity. The streets of Boston lately witnessed a formidable array of dragoons, artillery and infantry, all armed for deadly combat, and ready at command to shed American blood on American soil; yes, the blood of such of their fellow-citizens as were known to be zealous friends of liberty, and the inalienable rights of man. Ah! these republican soldiers had been converted into the body guard of a slave-catcher, and were aiding him to surrender an innocent native-born American to an unmitigated despotism.

True liberty springs not from skilful and successful military operations, but from great moral principles; and these principles are inculcated not at the cannon's mouth, but by peaceful discussion, and patient pleading, and love to wrong. The love of personal freedom is a passion, shared alike by the good and the vile; while a disinterested regard for the rights and liberties of others is not the product of the battle field, but the fruit of a heart purified by influences from above. Hence, in all ages, loud, but irreligious, declaimers for the rights of the people have generally been found ready, when opportunity offered, either to seize the reins of government themselves or to sell their services to any able to purchase them. History bears testimony to the fact that, from the earliest times, the military profession has furnished much the largest portion of the oppressors, tyrants and usurpers who have afflicted mankind. Political liberty will not, cannot flourish except in the presence of a pervading moral sense; and when it happens to fall to the lot of a corrupt people, it soon passes into anarchy, and thence despotism. False alike is the patriotism that rejects the obligations of religion, and the statesmanship which confides the prosperity and liberty of a nation to the guardianship of the sword. Individual and public happiness are both identified with obedience to the divine commands—commands which, being dictated by infinite wisdom and goodness, must of necessity be conducive to the highest expediency.

"RIPE OLD AGE."

In the June number of *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* is a table of the average age attained by men pursuing different occupations. Some of its facts are of such general interest that we glean them from it and present them in chronological order.

The man that dies youngest, as might be expected, perhaps, is the Railway Brakeman. His average age is only 27. Yet this must be taken with some allowance, from the fact that hardly any but young and active men are employed in that capacity.

At same age dies the Factory Workwoman, through the combined influence of confined air, sedentary posture, scant wages and unremitting toil.

Then comes the Railway Baggageman who is smashed, on an average, at 30.

Milliners and Dressmakers live but little longer. The average age of the one is 32, and the other 33.

The Engineer, the Fireman, the Conductor, the Powder Maker, the Well Digger, and the Factory Operative, all of whom are exposed to sudden and violent deaths, die on an average under the age of 35.

The Cutler, the Dyer, the Leather Dresser, the Apothecary, the Confectioner, the Cigar Maker, the Printer, the Silversmith, the Painter, the Shoe Cutter, the Engraver and the Machinist, all of whom lead confined lives in an unwholesome atmosphere, none of them reach the average age of 40.

The Musician blows his breath all out of his body at 40. The Editor knocks himself into *pi* at the same age.

Then come trades that are active or in a purer air. The Baker lives to the average age of 43, the Butcher to 49, the Brickmaker to 47, the Carpenter to 49, the Furnace Man to 42, the Mason to 48, the Stone Cutter to 43, the Tanner to 49, the Tinsmith to 41, the Weaver to 44, the Drover to 40, the Cook to 45, the Inn Keeper to 46, the Labourer to 44, the Domestic Servant (female) to 43. The Tailor lives to 43, the Tailoress to 41.

Why should the Barber live till 50, if not to show the virtue there is in personal neatness and soap and water?

Those who average over half a century among mechanics are those who keep their muscles and lungs in healthful and moderate exercise, and are not troubled with weighty cares The Blacksmith hammers till 51, the Cooper till 59, the Builder till 52, the Shipwright till 56, and the Wheelwright till 50. The Miller lives to be whitened with age as well as flour, at 61. The Rope Maker lengthens the threads of life to 54. Merchants average 52.

Professional men live longer than is generally supposed. Litigation kills clients sometimes, but seldom Lawyers, for they average 55. Physicians prove their usefulness by prolonging their own lives to the same period. Clergymen, who, it is to be presumed, enjoy a greater mental serenity than others, last till 56.

Seafaring life and its adjuncts, seem, instead of dangerous, to be actually conducive to longevity. We have already seen that the Shipwright lives till 56. The Sailor averages 43, the Caulker 64, the Sail Maker 52, the Stevedore 57, the Ferryman 65, and the Pilot 64.

A dispensation of Providence that "Maine Law" men may consider incomprehensible is, that Brewers and Distillers live to the ripe age of 64.

Last and longest lived come *Paupers* 67, and "*Gentlemen*" 68. The only two classes that do nothing for themselves, and live on their neighbours, outlast all the rest. Why should they wear out, when they are always idle?—*Albany Journal.*

HENRY WARD BEECHER ON PHRENOLOGY.*

It is very hard for a minister of the Gospel, standing before a promiscuous audience, to deal with the facts of their minds, and their inward lives. It is a melancholy fact, that men know less about that which is the very element of their being, than about anything else in the world. I suppose if I were to go among the intelligent men in my congregation, I could get every variety of information on subjects connected with the daily business affairs of life—upon questions of political economy, upon various questions of commerce, facts concerning the structure of ships, steam-engines—I could collect any amount of information on all these, and a thousand other kindred subjects. But when I ask them *what is inside of themselves*, they can tell me of a great manufactory, and explain to me the operation and use of all the machinery in it; but upon the question of the machinery of their own minds, they cannot say a word. In regard to commercial matters, they know all about them; they have examined them, they have compared their ideas on these subjects, and have classified them. They believe themselves to be immortal creatures, that they have throbbing within them a soul that shall live as long as God himself shall live; yet, when I ask them any question in regard to their inward nature, their only reply is, "I don't know, I don't know." They do not know what their *reason* is; they do not know what is the nature of their *moral powers*; they do not definitely understand the nature or operation of any one faculty of their minds!

They understand the nature of the soil of the earth; they know what it is capable of producing; they know the use of the plough, and all the implements of agriculture; they know what to do with a plant that is not thriving, they are skilful to impart to it fresh life, and make it flourish. But if any plant that ought to grow in the mind is stunted and does not thrive, they cannot tell how to make that grow. They don't know what to do to bring it forth.

It is difficult for a minister of the Gospel to set forth the truth intelligibly in respect to its relation to the human mind. I think it is partly because men have not been *curious in respect to themselves*, and partly on account of the many bewildering systems of mental philosophy that are in vogue in our day. For if there were none of these systems except the old school of metaphysical philosophy, I would defy any man to obtain by means of them any clear idea about the soul, for at best they are of but little more value than so many cobwebs. Men may study them, however, if they have a taste for them; if a man loves logic and discussion, let him take one of the old metaphysical mental philosophies, and he will have means of busying his mind until he grows tired of such business. But if a man wishes to know practically what he is made up of, if a man wishes a knowledge of human nature for definite practical purposes, there is no system which will aid him in acquiring that knowledge like the system of Phrenology; not interpreted too narrowly or technically, but in its relations to physiology and the structure of the whole body. And I may say here what I have never said before in the pulpit, that the views of the human mind, as they are revealed by Phrenology, are those views which have underlayed my whole ministry; and if I have had any success in bringing the truths of the Gospel to bear practically upon the minds of men, any success in the vigorous application of truths to the wants of the human soul, where they are most needed, I owe it to the clearness which I have gained from this science. And I could not ask for the members of my family, nor of a church, any better preparation for religious indoctrination, than to put them in possession of such a practical knowledge of the human soul as is given by Phrenology.

I have avoided the use of the nomenclature of Phrenology in the pulpit as far as possible, because I did not wish to seem to be a mere teacher of a philosophical system, while I was a minister of the truth as it is in Christ; but I have now been so long with you, that I am justified in making this statement.

I may say, in regard to the objections sometimes urged against Phrenology, its tendency to materialism and fatalism, that the same objections may be made to any other system of mental philosophy. I do not think that such objections belong to Phrenology any more than to any system of intellectual science which you can possibly construct. Men's mere logical and speculative reason will always strand them upon the sands of fatalism or materialism; and it is the practical sense, the consciousness of actual liberty, that redeems us from a belief of the one or the other. Such doctrines dwell in the *head*, but never in the hands.—*Phrenological Journal.*

* An extract from a recent Sabbath morning sermon, delivered by Mr. Beecher to a very large congregation, reported verbatim by a Phonographer, for the *Phrenological Magazine.*

CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE.

A late number of the London *Notes and Queries* contains a few curious bits of antiquity. One writer sends the following collection of wedding-ring mottoes:

Death never parts Such loving hearts.	Avoid all strife Twixt man and wife.
Love and respect I doe expect.	Joyfull love This ring do proue.
No gift can show The love I ow.	In thee, deare wife, I finde new life.
Let him never take a wife That will not love her as his life.	Of rapturous joye I am the toye.
In loving thee I love myself.	In thee I prove The joy of love.
A heart content Can ne'er repent.	In loving wife Spend all thy life. 1697.
In God and thee Shal my joye bee.	In love abide Till death divide.
Loue thy chast wife Beyond thy life. 1631.	In unitie Let's live and dy.
Loue and praye Night and daye.	Happy in thee Hath God made me.
Great joye in thee Continually.	Silence ends strife With man and wife.
My fond delight By day and night.	None can preuent The Lord's intent.
Pray to love; Love to pray. 1647.	More weere—more were. 1652.
Body and minde In thee I finde.	God did decree Our unitie.
Deare wife, thy rod Dothe leade to God.	I kiss the rod From thee and God.
Eternally My loue shal be.	In loue and joy Be our employ.
All I refuse And thee I chuse.	Live and loue; Loue and live.
God aboue Continew our love.	This ring doth binde Body and minde.
I wish to thee All joie may bee.	Loue and joye Can never cloye.
With my body I worship thee.	The pledge I prove Of mutuall love.
In thee, my loue, All joye I proue.	I love the rod And thee and God. 1646.
Beyond this life Loue me, deare wife.	I doe rejoice In thee, my choice.
Joye day and night Bee our delight.	All I refuse, But thee I chuse.
Endless my loue As this shall proue.	I change the life Of mayd to wife.
True love will ne'er remove.	Endles my love For thee shall prove.
In the, my choice, I doe rejoice. J. J. D. 1677.	Endles as this Shall be our bliss. Thos. Bliss. 1719.
Endless my love as this.	I loue myself in loving thee.
God alone made us two one.	Loue and lieue happy. 1689.

Divinely knitt by Grace are wee—
Late two, now one—the pledg here see.
B. and A. 1657.

Another correspondent contributes a page from a book on the passions, published in 1604. It reads as follows:

ACCORDING TO OUR ENGLISH PROVERBE.

Faire and foolish, little and lowde,
Long and lazie, blacke and prowde;
Fatte and merrie, leane and sadde,
Pale and pettish, redde and badde.

By which saying wee may gather, that howbeit women commonly be subject to the aforesayde passions, yet because diverse women have sundry complexions, so they bee subject to sundry passions. Even as in like sort I could say of men; for some are more proane to one passion than another, according to the Italian Proverbe:

Se l' huomini piccoli fussero patienti,
Et l' huomini grandi fussero valenti,
Et li rossi leali,
Tutto il mondo sarebbe uquale.

That is—

If little men were patient,
And great men were valiant,
And red men were loyall,
All the world would be equall.

Is this sonnet not unlike another old saying of theirs?—

From a white Spaniard,
A blacke Germaine,
And a red Italian.
Libera nos, Domine.

And we in English—

To a red man reade thy reed,
With a browne man breake thy bread,
At a pale man draw thy knife,
From a blacke man keepe thy wife.

The which we explicate after this sort:

The redde is wise,
The browne trustie,
The pale peevish,
The blacke lustie.

A gentleman sends the following curious relic of ancient superstition, in the form of an epitaph:

Bold Infidelity, turn pale and die,
Beneath this stone five infants' ashes lie;
Say, are they lost or saved?
If death 's by sin, they 've sinned because they are not here;
If heaven 's by works, in heaven they can't appear.
Reason! oh, how depraved!
Revere the sacred page, the knot 's untied;
They died, for Adam sinn'd; they live, for Jesus died.

THE ETHIOPEAN SOCRATES.

Many years ago, said an aged gentleman to me, I was travelling among the mountains of Virginia, when one of those terrible storms arose which are known only among the mountains; when the rain falls in sheets, and the thunder roars in one continuous crash and peal, seeming as if the hills would be shaken from their foundations, and the heavens gleam like a mass of fire which the drenching waters cannot quench. We were a long distance from any village, and for a long time looked in vain for a temporary shelter, but at length came in sight of a small inn, which our little party filled to overflowing. Soon another party arrived, which the pitiless storm had driven to the same shelter. But the landlord was more pitiless still, and rudely told them that he had no room for more. But, as we were all of one family, we offered to share with the new comers half our own accommodations, and were soon on such terms of acquaintanceship with a cultivated gentleman and his intelligent daughters as a storm and the close proximity of a country inn knows best how to produce.

Before dark, the storm had ceased, and the moon arose in all her queenly beauty, inviting us to sit upon the broad piazza and enjoy the evening air. Our new friends were from a more southern clime, and commenced conversation by asking if we had heard of a sad instance of wrong and crime which occurred, not long ago, in a neighbouring county. As things of that kind did not then so frequently find their way into the public prints as in these days, we had seen no allusion to the matter, and listened with unspeakable emotion whilst the gentleman related to us the following story:

"A southern trader had been commissioned to purchase a blacksmith, and to pay any price for one of superior skill and qualifications, wherever he might be found. In his roamings about the country, he heard of one belonging to a rich lady, but doubted about being being able to obtain him, as necessity would not compel her to part with him, and he had been long a faithful servant in her family. She was sick, too, and would not, as a dying act, wish to sell from his wife and children one who had proved of such invaluable service to her.

"But a thousand dollars proved a temptation which even a dying woman could not resist, and the bargain was finished, and the soul and body of a noble man consigned as property to a heartless trader, without a word of consultation with him on the subject. On being called and informed of the transfer, he exclaimed, in bitter agony, 'What have I done to deserve this? Have I not been a faithful servant, labouring night and day for my mistress, without ever in a single instance refusing to obey her orders?' Here his voice choked so that he could not speak, as he seemed overwhelmed with a sense of the wrong which had been done him, and of his helplessness; but soon added, 'Well, I know I am a poor slave, and must submit to my fate, but it is hard.'

"The trader was neither moved to compassion nor kindness, and approached to place upon his limbs the galling fetters, which were only the symbols of a more galling servitude, when the negro ventured again to remonstrate. He did not ask for freedom, or to be returned to his mistress. Alas! the thought of her must have been bitterness indeed to him now—but he asked the one little boon of being permitted to see his wife and children before he was separated from them forever.

"'I know,' he said, 'I am your slave. You have bought me and paid for me, and I am bound to obey you. This I will not refuse to do. But I have a wife and little children, two miles from here, with whom I have lived very happy. Will you not permit me to see them once more before I go? I promise solemnly I will return to-morrow morning, and go with you and do your bidding without a murmur.'

"'No,' said the trader, 'you cannot go.'

"'But oh, it is very hard that I cannot see my wife and children before I go, and bid them farewell. I am a man of truth, and I promise faithfully to return to-morrow morning if you will let me go.'

"'No,' was the indignant answer; 'you cannot go; and you may as well come along without any more fuss.'

"'Well,' answered the honest and injured husband and father, 'I must submit. I cannot help myself. But I tell you plainly I will never serve you; I will never perform a single act for your benefit.'

"'Oh, I am not troubled about that,' said the trader; 'I know how to deal with such as you, and have no fears about your obeying my commands.' And he placed the manacles upon his wrists and ankles, gave him a blow from his whip, and he was driven away.

"How the proud spirit chafed and writhed in the fetters! But, as he said, there was no help. For several days he was detained in a station-house, till a large gang was collected, when they were marched off towards their southern destination. There was no further remonstrance, and no attempt at escape; till, with feet sore and bleeding from days' and nights' of constant tramping upon thorny paths and burning sands, they encamped upon the borders of a running stream for a little rest. The men reclined in their chains upon the ground, and the women were strewed in heaps among the baggage of the wagons. The moon shone clear and bright, and scarcely a breath of air stirred the leaves of the trees above their heads, and all were asleep. It was not a night to favour crime; yet revenge burned so hotly in the bosom of the outraged negro that he could no longer delay. His trade had made him familiar with iron links, and with a little application of his skill his bonds were loosened, and he was free. But he did not attempt to fly. He crept stealthily to the tent of the trader, and with one blow of the axe severed his head from his body! then returned to his resting-place and slept soundly till morning!

"The break of day revealed the terrible deed, and the excitement soon spread from the negro camp to the neighbouring settlements, and crowds gathered in eager curiosity to learn the particulars of the crime. Several were put to the torture in attempts to make them confess, but the guilty one, not wishing others to suffer what he had done, came forward and gave himself up to justice. Double manacles were placed upon his limbs, and he was confined to jail until the day of his trial. On being told by the judge that he would have the benefit of counsel and every advantage which the law could give, notwithstanding his confession, he again disclaimed all pretensions to innocence, and expressed no desire to live. 'I killed the man,' said he, 'and I did it after deliberate reflection, and still think his hard-hearted cruelty justified the act. I am not sorry.'

"There was a sort of mock trial, at the end of which the verdict of 'Guilty' was solemnly rendered, and the accused was asked if he had anything to say to the court. With great dignity, and no visible emotion, he arose and said:

"'I am grateful for your kindness and for the opportunity you gave me of escaping death; but I have no wish to live. I am cruelly separated from all that was most dear to me, and life is no longer of any value. I do not wish to live, and I am not afraid to die, and I have only one favour to ask of my earthly friends. I would like to know that the day of my execution is fixed on the 4th of July, which will soon be here. It is the day you celebrate as the anniversary of your emancipation from the slavery of a foreign despotism. If you grant me this request, the day will be the anniversary of my emancipation from a bondage much more galling than was ever inflicted upon you. From that day I shall be as free as you!'

"He who spoke was of Ethiop blackness, but his manner was as calm as that of the Athenian philosopher when the hemlock was presented to his lips, and his whole demeanour as dignified and respectful. Among the audience there was a breathless stillness, which for a long time was not interrupted, and all departed under the influence of deep and impressive solemnity.

"Neitheir in the prison nor on the scaffold was there any change in the guilty man, and nothing could wring from him anything like a confession that he had sinned in taking the life of one so inhuman. He had rid the earth of a monster, and was willing to die for the deed.

"His mind was in the darkness of heathenism, and we leave him for God to judge. And we also leave him to judge those who keep in darkness millions of immortal souls, and so imbrutalize and degrade them that conscience is without life, and deliberate crime without horror.

"But it is pleasant to add that there were accounts immediately of the liberation of many who had been kept in bondage in that region, proving that the dying words of a negro could affect the heart."—M. M.—*Independent.*

From The Crayon.

INVITA MINERVA.

The Bardling came, where, by the river, grew
The pennoned reeds, that in the westwind blue,
Gleamed and sighed plaintively, as if they knew
What music slept enchanted in each stem,
Till Pan should choose some happy one of them,
And, with his wise lips, thrill it through and through.

The Bardling thought—"A pipe is all I need:
Once I have picked me out a daintier reed,
And shaped it to my fancy, I proceed
To blow such notes as yonder, 'mid the rocks,
That strange youth blows, who tends Admetus' flocks,
And all the maidens will to *me* pay heed."

A long June day he searched the rivage round,
And many a reed he marred, but never found
The one wherein the strange youth's tones were bound;
At last his vainly-wearied limbs he laid
Beneath a darksome laurel's flickering shade,
And sleep about his sense her cobwebs bound.

Then shone the Mighty Mother through his dreams,
And said, "The reeds that grow beside these streams
Are mine; and who art thou that layest schemes
To snare the melodies, wherewith my breath
Inspires the double-pipes of Life and Death,
And harmonizes that which discord seems?

"He seeks not me, but I seek oft in vain
For him who shall my voiceful reeds constrain
To free his heart of its melodious pain:
He flies the fatal gift, for well he knows
His life of life must with its overthrows
Flood the unthankful pipe, nor come again."

James Russell Lowell.

MONUMENT TO FRANKLIN AND HIS COMPANIONS.

Lady Franlin [says the *Tribune*] has at last resigned herself to the belief that her brave husband is no more, and, at her request, the present Expedition will take out a tablet to be erected to the memory of Sir John and his devoted companions of the Erebus and Terror. It was not until quite too late for the stone to be prepared in England and shipped for this country that Lady Franklin learned that Lieut. Hartstein and his command would touch at Beechy Island. Therefore, at her request, Mr. Henry Grinnell has caused the tablet to be prepared in this city. In conformity with her directions, the stone bears the following inscription:

TO THE MEMORY OF
FRANKLIN,
CROZIER, FITZJAMES,
AND
ALL THEIR GALLANT BROTHER OFFICERS AND FAITH